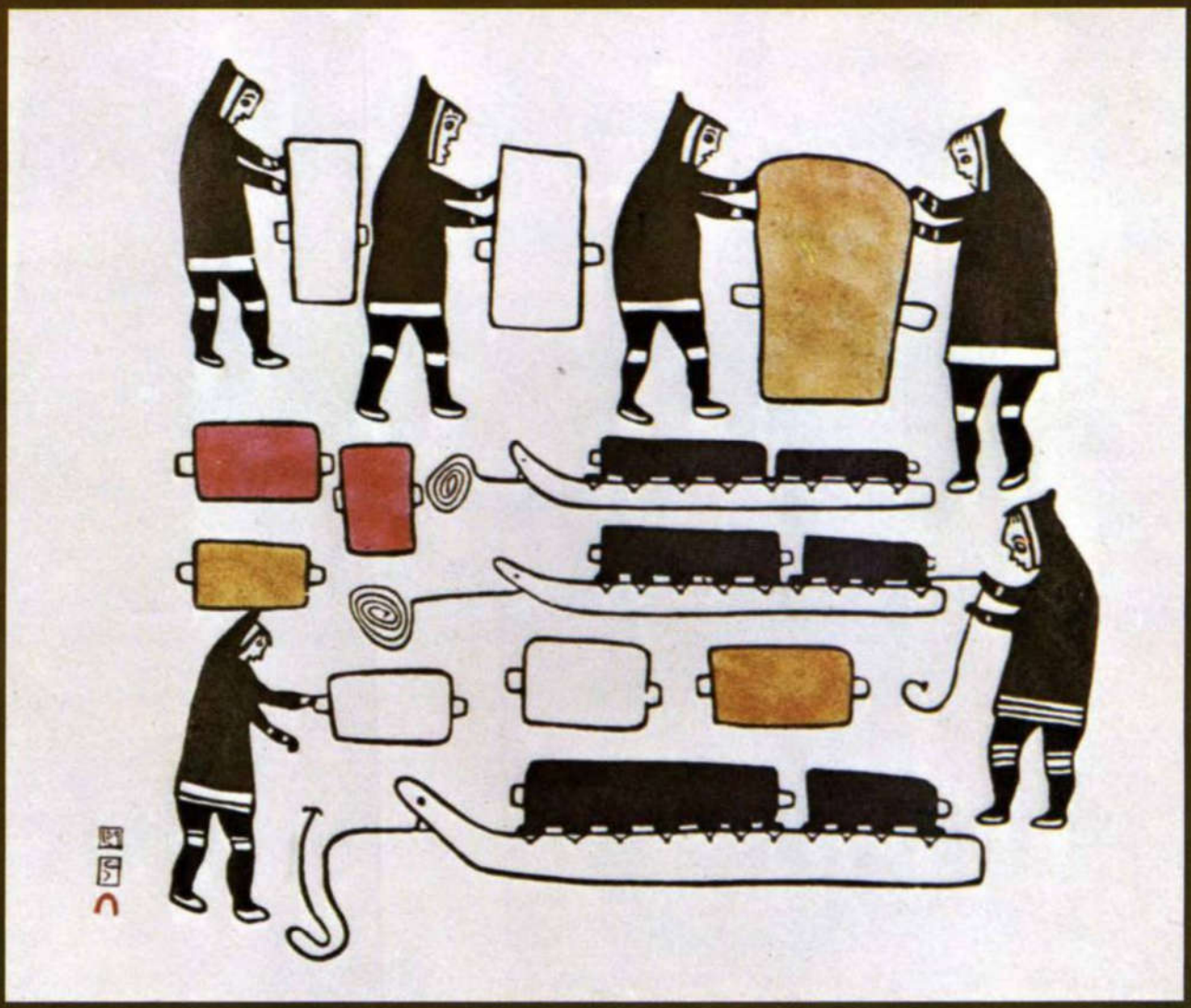
The Beaver

SPRING 1975



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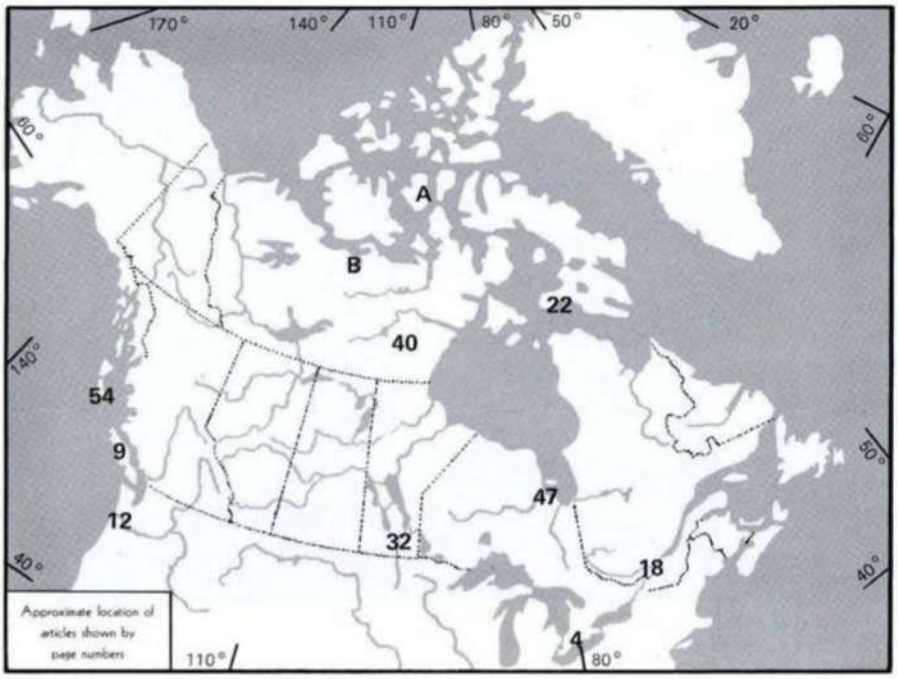

Bathurst Island (A) and Bathurst Inlet (B).

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COVER: 'Loading fur bales' by Kiakshuk, 1966.

The old hunter Kiakshuk had a brief and brilliant career from 1960 until his death five years later. His last print was issued posthumously in 1967.

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'Encampment of the Loyalists at Johnston, a New Settlement, on the Banks of the River St. Laurence in Canada, taken June 6th 1784', a water-colour by James Peachey.

THE MISSISSAUGA AND DAVID RAMSAY

BY DONALD SMITH

Assistant Professor Smith is with the history department of the University of Calgary.

THE OJIBWA INDIANS, also known as the 'Chippewa' or 'Mississauga', remained in undisputed control of the north shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario throughout the 1760s and 1770s. Apart from occasional independent traders like the notorious David Ramsay, Europeans were seldom seen in the 'Mississauga country'. The native peoples lost their ascendancy in what is now termed southern Ontario only after the American Revolution. Then several thousand United Empire Loyalists moved to the Niagara and the Bay of Quinte districts, gradually displacing the Indians from their fishing and hunting grounds.

Nothing perhaps is more indicative of the early colonists' attitudes towards the Mississauga than their selection of David Ramsay as one of their first folk heroes. The newly arrived American Loyalists looked up to the Scottish trader not only on account of his intensive knowledge of the colony, but also because of his military record in both the American Revolution and the Seven Years' War. When the white settlers learned that he had once 'in self defence' killed eight Mississauga Indians on the north shore of Lake Erie, he advanced still further in their esteem.

What little is known about Ramsay's early life comes from a land petition that he submitted to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in 1795, and from notes made in

P.A.C.

March 1792 by a British traveller, Patrick Campbell, whom Ramsay guided from Niagara to New York. Taking great interest in his guide's adventures Campbell stayed up with him one whole night to record his story. That evening Ramsay informed him that he had been born in the town of Leven, Fifeshire, Scotland. As a young man he joined the crew of the British warship *Prince of Orange* participating, after a tour on the Bay of Biscay in 1757, in the sieges of Louisbourg in 1758 and Quebec in 1759.

Ramsay came to Lake Ontario in 1764 or 1765 when he served on a British patrol vessel. He liked the Great Lakes and remained. Once his term of service was completed the young Scot engaged himself with a Montreal fur trader. But shortly thereafter, as he told Campbell, he entered the fur business on his own, settling on the Mohawk River in New York. From Schenectady he made several fur-trading expeditions to Detroit and Michilimackinac. Ramsay, of course, did not mention to Campbell or in his petition his first encounter with the law. From a dispatch written by the Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Quebec we learn that in 1768 the Commandant at Niagara, Captain Brown, arrested him 'for some Irregularities committed in the upper Country'. 'To prevent his doing further mischief' amongst the Indians Brown sent him to Montreal, where he was held in the guardhouse for several days.

Campbell does include a lengthy description of the most important winter of Ramsay's life, that of 1771-72 spent on the north shore of Lake Erie. In the late fall of 1771, Ramsay, with his seventeen-year-old brother, George, who had just arrived from Scotland, set out on a trading voyage. At Schenectady they bought a bateau, purchased trading goods worth £150 on credit, and prepared the rum 'one-third water, mixed for trading with'. From Schenectady they proceeded to Oswego, Niagara, then on to Kettle Creek, which flows into Lake Erie near present-day Port Stanley. After travelling 'sixty' miles up the river they established their post, trading that winter with the forty or so Indians – most frequently called 'Mississauga' – who trapped in the area.

Unfortunately we have no native account of Ramsay's dealings at Kettle Creek. In the following spring, however, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, Sir William Johnson, using Ramsay's confession, the testimony of his brother, and the accounts of 'others', presumably Indians, reconstructed what must have taken place. Ramsay, Johnson wrote, 'being of a disagreeable Temper, and probably endeavouring to over reach them, they [the Indians] warned him to remove, otherwise they would maltreat him, of which however he took no notice but seemed to set them at defiance.'

The confrontation had arisen after the men departed for their spring hunt. From Ramsay's subsequent confession of 15 May 1772 at Niagara one can surmise what followed. The Indians left the warrior, Wandagan, with two women and two children to keep an eye on the trader and his brother. 'Near about the full moon in March' Ramsay declared that a warrior and two women, after drinking heavily, stumbled to his post demanding more rum. After Ramsay refused them several times, one smashed down the door with an axe. Ramsay was ready. He speared the first to enter, then killed the other two as well. Twenty years later he disclosed to Campbell 'These I scalped according to the Indian custom.'

Ramsay did spare the lives of the two children, one nine and the other thirteen. Campbell who judged Ramsay to be a man of 'strict veracity, honesty and integrity' believed that this treatment of the children 'clearly evince[s], that in killing the Indians he was actuated by motives of self defence, and not from a thirst of blood.' Sir William Johnson who, after thirty years of close contact with the native peoples of the Great Lakes, was much better acquainted with the Indian mind, thought otherwise. He dismissed Ramsay's argument that the drunken natives seriously threatened him 'for, in the first place the Indians, whenever they meditate mischief, carefully avoid Liquor.'

About three weeks later, as soon as the ice broke, Ramsay and his brother with the two Indian children fled with their packs of fur to Long Point on Lake Erie. There, held back by drifting ice, a band of Mississauga

ONTARIO ARCHIVES

'Canise or Great Sail, Chippewa Chief', from a sketch completed in the 1790s by Mrs Simcoe, wife of Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe.

found them. Ramsay warned the two children 'not to tell that I had killed their people.' The Indians, however, already knew of Ramsay. 'They demanded my arms, and said that I had been drunk and mad all winter.'

The Indians captured him, tied his hands to his neck, pinioned his arms behind him, and kept him in that position all night. They forced him, he later told Campbell, 'to drink with them or be Stabbed.' After the Indians had been drinking for some time a quarrel arose, during which Ramsay's brother managed to cut Ramsay's leather bindings. The alcohol, Ramsay informed Campbell, had not seriously affected him. 'What I drank did not disable me, but rather made me more furious and alert.' In what must have been a matter of minutes Ramsay killed, Sir William Johnson later reported, 'three men, one woman, and an Infant, and as an aggravation of the same took off their scalps.' After breaking the canoes of their enemies Ramsay and his brother travelled to Niagara where the authorities immediately imprisoned him.

Sir William Johnson felt Ramsay deserved 'Capital punishment'. In a letter written 29 June 1772 to the senior British army officer in the American colonies, General Thomas Gage, Johnson explained, 'killing a Woman and Child, and the Scalping them afterwards is inexcusable, and the Circumstance of his being able to do all this, is an evident proof that he was not in the danger he represents, & that the Ind^{s} were too much in Liquor, to execute any bad purpose.'

Repercussions of the murders were soon felt. Shortly after the Long Point massacre, forty Mississauga warriors converged on Niagara, in the words of one informant, without 'one woman or child & with there Arms which they requested should be repaired.' It appeared as if an attack on the fort was imminent. Then in late May, Paupinnash, 'Chief of y^{e} Messissagaes' arrived with fourteen warriors at Johnson Hall, Sir William Johnson's home in the Mohawk Valley. He told Johnson how their hearts were 'Quite Sore for the Loss of so many Brave Warriors.' Paupinnash, himself, had lost a favourite grandchild:

> I shant detain you long on the Subject of our present Visit. Which is the Murder of Eight of our Countrymen three of whom were killed at the Kettle Creek, & five more Nearer to Niagara. Among whom was my Daughters son.

Sir William Johnson deserves much of the credit for averting a Mississauga uprising. The trader and interpreter, St Jean Rousseau, stated in late July 1772, that the Mississauga around Niagara held 'in great Awe & have a great Respect for S^{r} W^{m}. Johnson.' Notwithstanding the ardent desire of many of the younger warriors, after the Indian Superintendent intervened the old men resisted pressures to attack the British. Once Johnson had 'covered their graves with presents' their honour had been saved. The elders may have reasoned that war would only bring further unnecessary deaths and the complete cessation of trade which brought them badly needed fire-arms, iron tools, and utensils.

If the decision had been Johnson's alone, Ramsay would have hanged, but the judgement was not his to make. Knowing the general attitude of the settlers towards the Indians, Johnson realized that a white jury would acquit the trader. As early as 3 July he had mentioned to Cadwallader Colden: 'The Affair has been touched on in the Public Prints but stated intirely in his favor.' Previously he had told George Croghan: 'I don't think he will Suffer, had he killed a Hundred' – all of which sadly proved correct. In September 1773 the Montreal jury 'for want of Evidence' acquitted Ramsay.

There are few characters in Canadian history as strange as David Ramsay. After his military service with the British navy on the Atlantic coast during the American Revolution he went back to live among the people whose relatives he had killed barely a decade before. He learned to dress like the Indians, to live like them, and to speak their language. Why he did so remains a mystery, especially as his dislike of them in no way appears to have diminished. In 1793, he told Campbell 'there was no dependence to be placed in an Indian.' Then, he went on to inform him proudly: 'After killing the first Indians, I cut lead, and chewed above thirty balls, and above three pound of Goose shot, for I thought it a pity to shoot an Indian with a smooth ball.'

Before allowing him to reside among them the Mississauga had forced Ramsay to conform with their traditional law. Over fifty years after the event, in 1828,

Peter Jones, a Methodist missionary of mixed Mississauga and British ancestry, recorded the old Indians' memories of the 'eccentric white man by the name of Ramsay who used to trade with the Indians.' While in Jones's version the Kettle Creek murders and that of the child at Long Point are omitted, the essential incidents appear, thus establishing the accuracy of the native oral tradition. Most important of all, it explains Ramsay's 'atonement' for the crime – the payment to 'the relatives of those he killed a certain amount in goods and rum.'

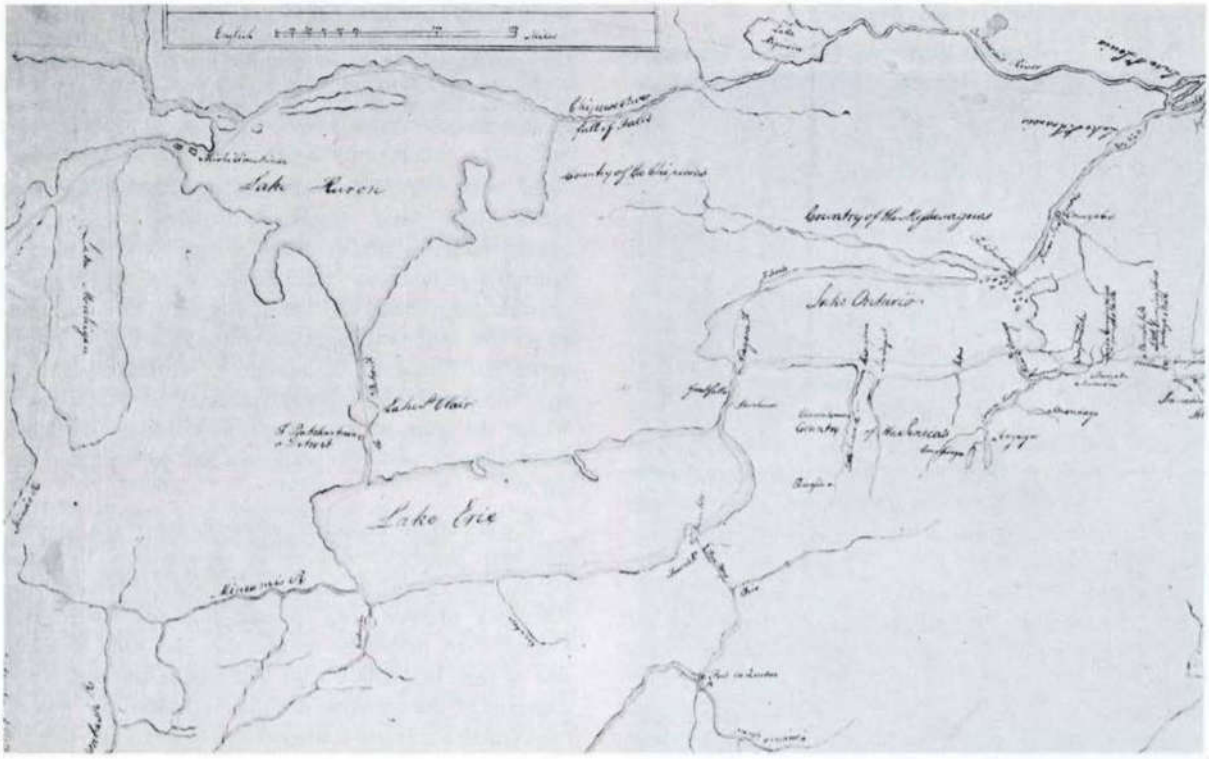
I have been informed by some of the Indians, that on one occasion Ramsay was with a small party of Indians on the shore of Lake Erie. Ramsay had some rum which the Indians demanded; on being denied, they took and tied him hand and foot, and then took his fire-water, and having freely drank, all became perfectly helpless. Ramsay then got an Indian to untie him, after which he took a hatchet and killed all the adult Indians on the spot. He afterwards surrendered himself to the authorities, such as there were in those days, and was allowed, according to Indian custom, to make an atonement for his crime, by paying the relatives of those he killed a certain amount in goods and rum.

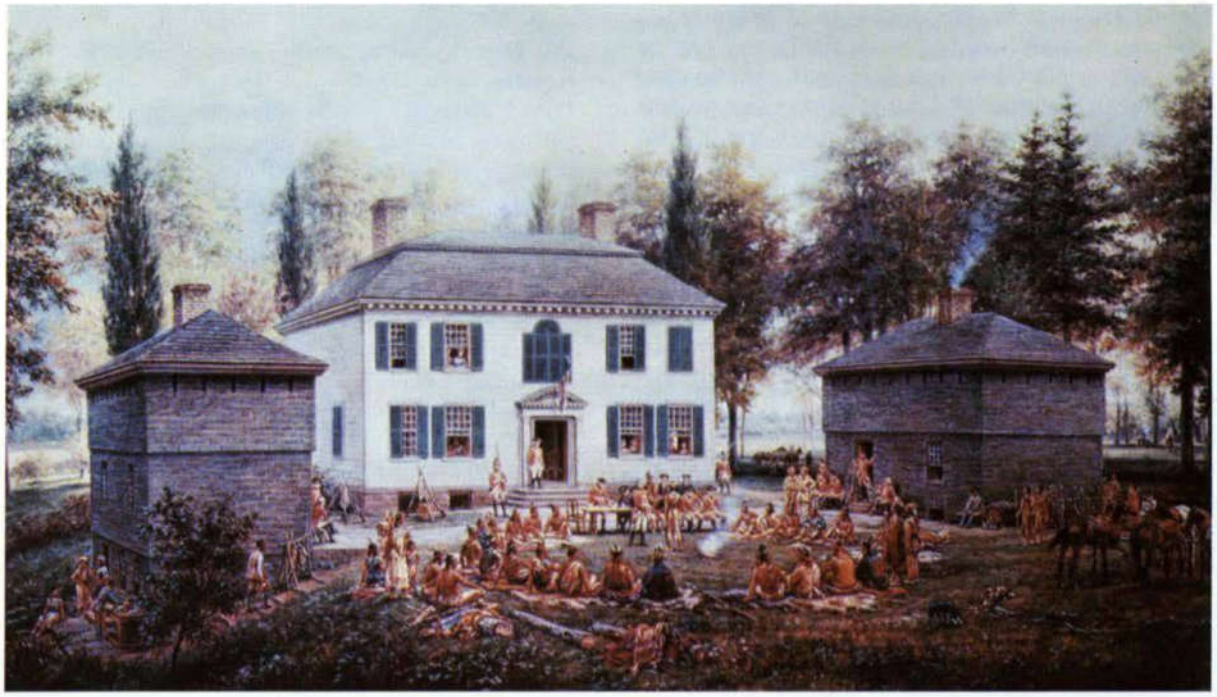
Many Mississauga continued to despise Ramsay, for Campbell learned from others that 'when the Indians got drunk, but only when drunk, that they still threatened to kill him.' The same year, 1793, a son of one of the men Ramsay murdered twenty years before, tried unsuccessfully to kill him. But the latter, stubborn as ever, did not move. The Indian Agent, Matthew Elliott, reported him as 'living among the Missassages' in 1795.

In the white community Ramsay enjoyed considerable respect, although when Campbell met him, he had recently been arrested for smuggling furs into the United States. This arrest apparently had not affected the regard in which others held him. He still earned his living carrying dispatches and money for people in the Niagara area. As Campbell testified: 'His honesty and fidelity is so well known, that he is entrusted with sums of money to any amount without requiring any token or receipt for the same.'

The murders of 1772 were far from forgotten among the colonists. No blame, though, was attached to Ramsay, for as Campbell wrote 'everybody knew he acted in self defence only.' The legend of the Ramsay murders had achieved epic proportions in his own lifetime. A very garbled account, yet one containing certain of the event's recognizable features, appeared in John Long's *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, first published in 1791. The fur trader, John Long, claimed to have heard the story at Michilimackinac in 1780. In Long's narrative Ramsay, his son (already legend had added one more to Ramsay's party) and brother were captured in the spring of that year by Potawatomis near Fort Saint Joseph (modern Niles, Michigan). The Indians proceeded to tie the trader to a stump, then prepared to roast him. Meanwhile bound to the stump, Ramsay told his brother to 'ply them with rum and keep their kettles constantly filled.' Long continues:

A 1755 sketch of the Great Lakes locates the country of the Mississaugas north of Lake Ontario.





COURTESY OF JOHN KNOX, JOHNSTOWN, NEW YORK

Johnson Hall, home of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnson. Here, in May 1772 Paupinnash reported the murder of eight Indians by Ramsay.

When Mr. Ramsay discovered that they were sufficiently intoxicated to be incapable of doing mischief, he desired his brother to cut his cords; and being released, assisted in pouring rum down their throats till they were quite insensible. Fired with resentment at their intended barbarity, he and his brother cut all their throats, loaded his canoe with the articles they had taken out, and paddled from shore as fast as they could.

Ramsay lived on, at least until 1810. The Executive Council of Upper Canada recommended him for a land grant of six hundred acres in July 1791. Before he died he had accumulated some capital, for in his last will prepared in 1810 he left his executor, William Bruce, the 'Brig' – *The Thames of New York* of which Ramsay was 'sole and only owner'. He also willed him lands that he had obtained in Kent County, Upper Canada in 1801.

After his death the legend of the Indians' 'attack' on Ramsay lived on among the American Loyalist settlers who had entered Upper Canada in the 1780s and '90s. The account conditioned future generations, in particular those born in the Long Point area, to the 'Indian danger'. The tradition kept alive by the Mabee family and recorded by E. A. Owen in the late 1890s in his *Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement,* well illustrates the legend's negative image of the native people. The story was said to have been handed down by Mrs Frederick Mabee, one of the first settlers to reach Turkey Point in 1793. In the tale the Indians at Long Point capture 'George Ramsay, a celebrated English hunter and fur-trader'.

The Indians, nine in number, seized Ramsay's liquors and other goods, and after becoming crazed with 'fire-water,' bound Ramsay hand and foot and determined on burning him alive. The attack was made in the night, and before the preparation for the burning was completed, the savage spirit succumbed to the liquid spirit of Christian civilization, and they decided to wait until morning. Eight of them stretched out in a drunken snooze around the fire, and the ninth was detailed to guard the prisoner. On this occasion Ramsay was accompanied by his nephew – a mere lad, whom the savages did not molest. During the night the boy secured a knife and severed the thongs which bound his uncle; and when thus freed, Ramsay made short work in sending his drunken captors to the 'happy hunting ground,' and made good his escape.

In both Long's and the Mabee version, Ramsay's actions have been whitewashed. Without cause, the honest trader is attacked by 'savages' who prepare to burn the unfortunate man at the stake. Only in self defence did Ramsay kill them. The fact that he murdered a child and a woman, then scalped them is forgotten, as are the Kettle Creek murders of a month before. If any one acted like a barbarian surely it was Ramsay. Within the space of three weeks he had killed one child, three women, and four men, and had gone unpunished for it.

The American Loyalists, whose image of the 'savages' had been largely formed earlier on the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers, saw matters quite differently. In Ramsay's lifetime they praised him for his actions. Indeed, even before his demise they had built him into one of their first folk heroes. The hostile sentiments of a majority of the colonists against the Indians can be held responsible for David Ramsay's rise to legendary fame. ◆

SEA OTTERS

A Third Transplant to British Columbia

BY I. B. MacASKIE

EARLY IN THE 18th century the total population of sea otters, *Enhydra lutris,* in the north Pacific may have been 150,000. Russian hunters in the Aleutians began taking these animals in the 1740s, and by the end of the 19th century they were close to extinction in the Aleutians and virtually gone from the Canadian coast. Attempts to control the harvest made by the Russian trader, Baranov, were unsuccessful; large profits were being gained in furs.

By the early 1900s hunting had reduced the population to an estimated 2,000. These survived only because they were located in areas that were too remote or forbidding to allow constant hunting pressure. Free from harassment over the last 60 years, the number of sea otters in the north Pacific has increased to possibly 35,000 and there are now areas along the Aleutian island chain where population density has become too high.

In 1969 co-operation between various agencies in Canada and the United States resulted in the transfer of thirty sea otters from Amchitka to Vancouver Island.

It is not possible to say how many of these subsequently survived. They arrived at the release site in Checleset Bay after being transferred to three different aircraft, and the unavoidable noise, manhandling, and confinement probably caused some degree of stress. Nevertheless, when the individual cages were opened on a shelving island beach 29 animals made good their escape and swam away between numerous surrounding reefs.

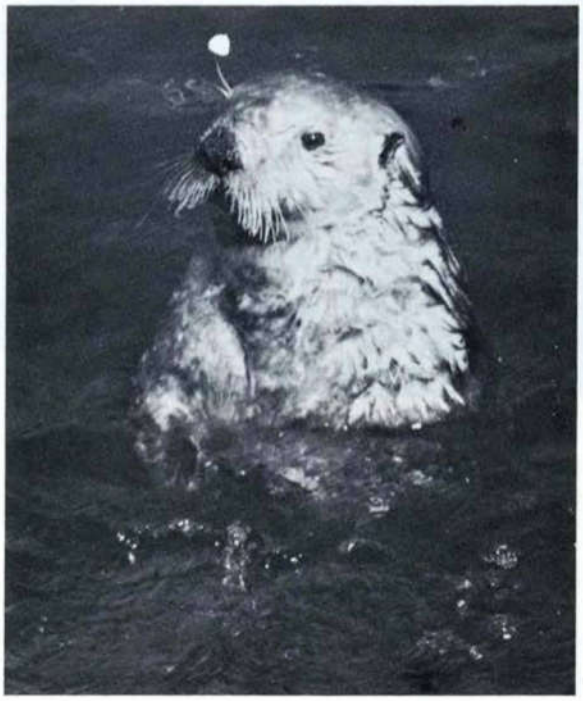
This re-introduction was a promising start for a new Canadian population. Checleset Bay had been selected as a habitat that offered ideal conditions and an abundant supply of preferred food items: sea urchins, clams, and mussels. It was hoped that the animals would remain in the area, but no confirmed sightings were recorded in the following 12 months.

In 1970 the Alaska Department of Fish and Game agreed to supply more animals and the B.C. Fish and Wildlife Branch and the Fisheries Board undertook a second transplant. It was decided to try boat transport and the Fisheries Research Board's vessel *G. B. Reed* was sent to a capture site in Prince William Sound, Alaska. Forty-five otters were put on board and held in open sea-water tanks during a six-day journey south to Vancouver Island. Thirty-one animals died en route and though reasons for the high mortality remain speculative, a severe storm was certainly an important factor. The fourteen remaining animals were released in Checleset Bay in apparently excellent condition and there was every indication they would 'go forth and multiply'.

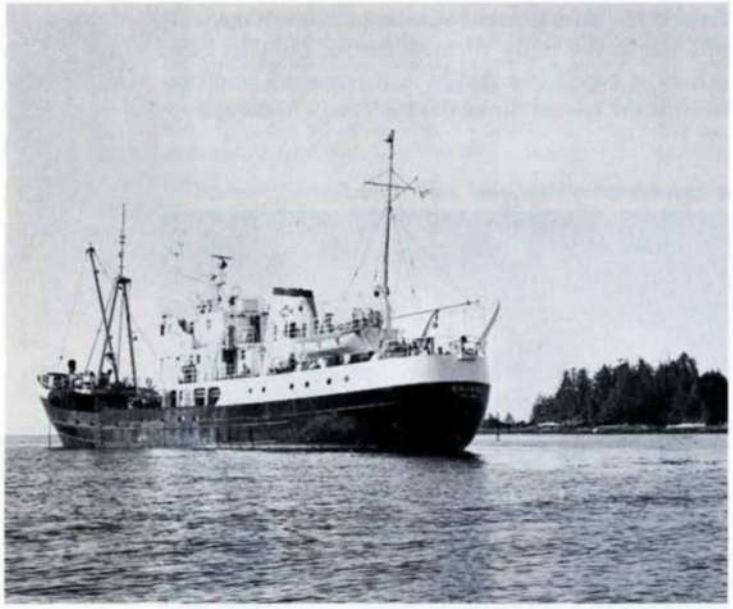
In 1971-72 reports were received of sea-otter sightings, many of which resulted from confusion with the river otter, *Lutra canadensis*, which is commonly seen in the area. However, confirmed sightings of sea otters showed some individual animals as far removed from Checleset Bay as Cape St. James, 170 miles north, and Barkley Sound, 120 miles south. Though these are assumed to be animals brought to British Columbia in 1969-70, it is not impossible that they strayed from other transplants to Southeast Alaska and Washington.

Of particular interest was a sighting three miles south of the release site, at a rocky uninhabited outcrop called Thomas Island. Here Mr H. MacGregor, a wildlife photographer, surprised six sea otters in a tidal pool on 9 July 1972. Identification was based on his familiarity with the species in the Aleutian Islands, and this chance encounter established that at least one small group survived at the release site of the 1969 or 1970 transplants.

A transplanted sea otter, alert, curious and free.



The Fisheries Research Board's vessel 'G.B. Reed' anchored at Checleset Bay.



Author Ian MacAskie first investigated the possibility of re-introducing sea otters to the British Columbia coast in 1964 and took an active part in the three subsequent transplants. With the Arctic Biological Station, Fisheries Research Board, he has been associated with marine mammal research on the Pacific Coast since 1958.

A third transplant was organized by the Fisheries Research Board in July 1972. As in 1970 the animals were obtained from Prince William Sound, and three members of the British Columbia Fish and Wildlife Branch assisted the Alaska Department of Fish and Game in capturing operations.

On 3 July a camp was established at Montague Island and as many as 12 salmon gill nets were strung out near reefs or kelp beds within an eight-mile radius. Sea otters that became entangled in these light-weight nets were removed, injected with an anti-stress glucocorticoid (a new procedure for Canadian transplants) and held temporarily in a floating pen. They were then transferred by aircraft to similar pens assembled on Eayk Lake near Cordova to await shipment to Vancouver Island. When this phase of the plan ended 15 males and 32 females were placed in separate cages, given a second anti-stress injection and taken by truck to Cordova airfield.

Preparations for their reception in British Columbia had meanwhile been completed. The *G. B. Reed* was anchored at the Bunsby Islands, Checleset Bay, having transported holding pens, food fish, and personnel to the release site.

The pens were assembled in a secluded arm of water within the island group. Each was essentially a 16' x 12' rectangle of styrofoam sufficiently buoyant to support a submerged net bag four feet deep and a surrounding net fence four feet high.

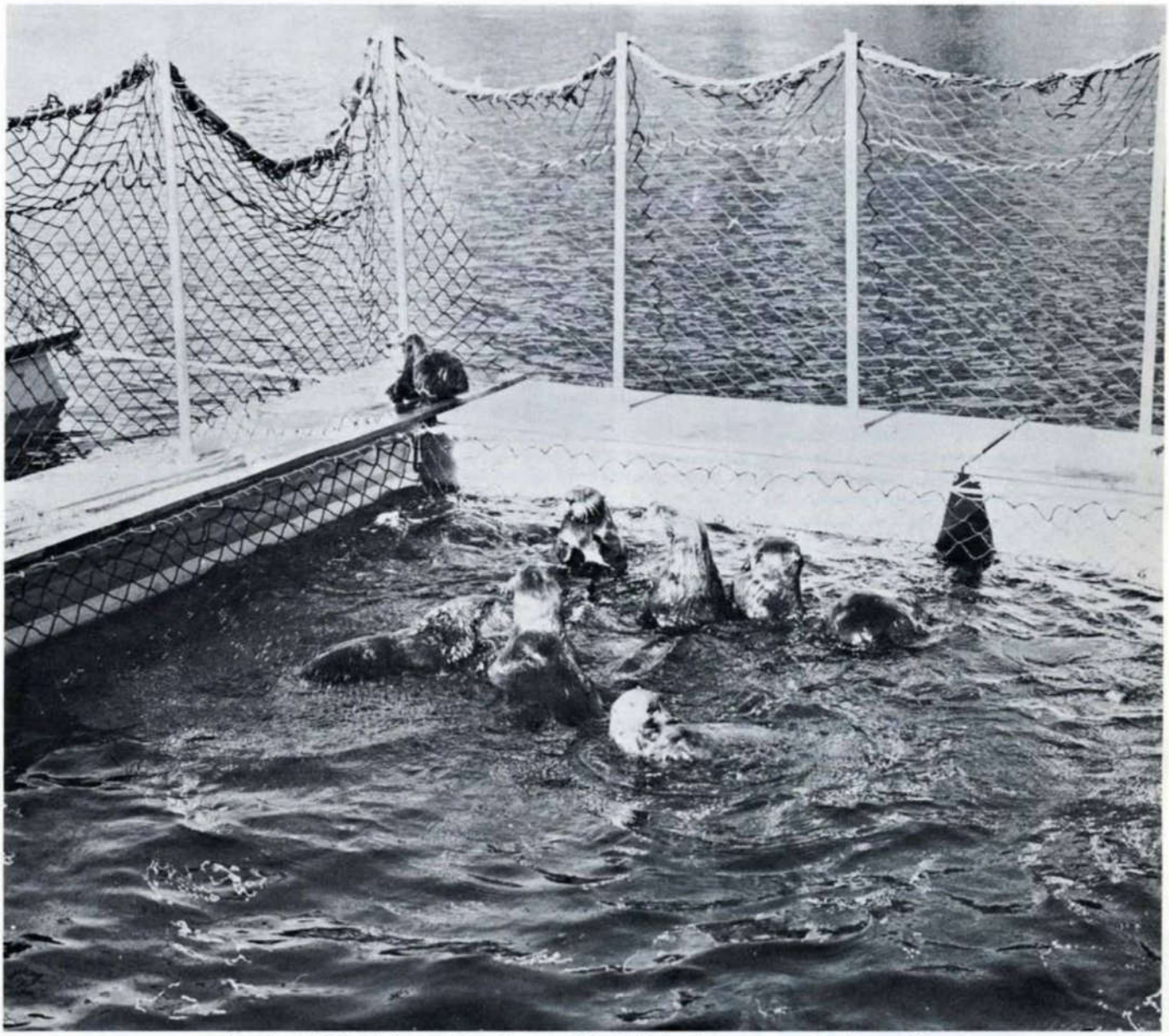
The sea otters would remain within these enclosures for several days to clean their fur and generally recuperate from their 1,000-mile journey. Those animals that might show signs of distress would be removed to a laboratory and given special attention by the veterinarian aboard the *G. B. Reed*.

The journey from Cordova to Port Hardy took 3¼ hours. The otters were then transferred to seaplanes, flown to the Bunsby Islands and placed in the floating pens.

By evening the otters were swimming vigorously within the enclosures and there was a noticeable absence of the frantic preening activity that signifies badly soiled or waterlogged fur. They accepted food fish immediately, consuming it with apparent relish. Only two animals had caused concern: a small female pup that died within a few hours of arrival and an adult male who recovered his health after three days of veterinary care.

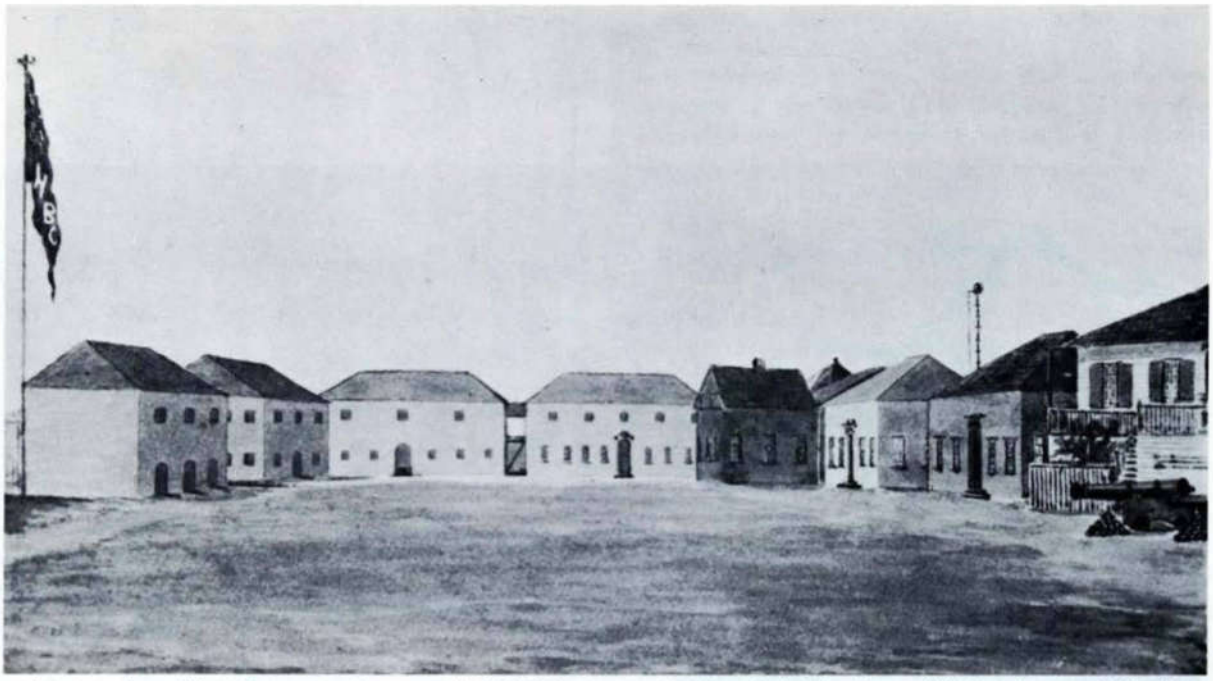
By 17 July it was obvious there were no advantages to be gained by holding the animals for a longer period and the enclosures were opened. Free to leave, they swam away without haste, passing down the inlet. Canadian waters thus received a marked increase in its population of healthy sea otters and the fact that 12 were seen in the vicinity of the release site six weeks later suggests they were finding little fault with their new surroundings.

The transplant was a thorough success and experience gained from previous efforts contributed largely towards ensuring low mortality. ◆



FISHERIES RESEARCH BOARD OF CANADA

After their 1,000-mile journey from Montague Island, Alaska, the sea otters swim vigorously in their pens off the coast of Vancouver Island.



A water-colour of Fort Vancouver as it appeared in 1846-47, ten years after the arrival of the Reverend Herbert Beaver and his wife. The divided dwelling house where the Beavers were sheltered was behind the artist, Lieutenant T. P. Coode, as he sketched the scene.

'UNPRETENDING' BUT NOT 'INDECENT'

Living Quarters at Mid-19th Century HBC Posts

BY JOHN A. HUSSEY

THE REVEREND HERBERT BEAVER arrived at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River with great expectations. From discussions with directors and officials of the Hudson's Bay Company in London he had received the impression that, as the newly appointed chaplain at the Company's western headquarters, he would be assigned a dwelling of his own and would be made as snug and comfortable as a typical parish clergyman in England.

Great was the disappointment of Mr and Mrs Beaver, therefore, when they landed from the Company's barque, *Nereide,* on 6 September 1836, and found that no preparations had been made to shelter them. They were placed in one end of a house with only a thin partition between them and other noisy occupants. Two chairs and a table were hastily assembled for the new-comers, but the chaplain had to superintend the making of a bedstead, while Mrs Beaver put together a mattress. The Beavers complained bitterly to Company officers not only about their own accommodations but about living conditions at the post in general. Lodging for all classes, Beaver wrote to London, was 'indecent'.

The protests of the prejudiced and hypercritical Mr Beaver can generally be discounted, but he was undoubtedly correct in indicating that his lodgings at Fort Vancouver were Spartan in their simplicity. William H. Gray, member of an American missionary party which reached the depot soon after the Beavers, found the parsonage to be constructed of wood, with rough board partitions and bare, unplaned floors. There were no carpets in the country except Indian mats, and these Mrs Beaver considered 'too filthy to step upon, or to be about the house.'

Gray and other visitors to Fort Vancouver, while not confirming Beaver's description of the living accommodations as 'indecent', did make clear that the quarters of officers, clerks, and other employees of all grades were, on the whole, extremely plain. Gray, speaking of the dwellings in general, recorded that in 1836 the partitions in the hewn timber structures were 'all upright boards planed, and the cracks battened; floors were mostly rough boards, except [those in] the office and the governor's house, which were planed.'

Dr Hussey, now retired, was historian for the Western Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. He is author of 'The History of Fort Vancouver and its Physical Structure'.

Quotations from the H B C Archives are made with permission of the Company.

In 1841 French traveller Eugène Duflot de Mofras found the quarters of the clerks to be 'a kind of barracks, where nothing recalls the comforts of the English.' This opinion was seconded by Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes of the United States Exploring Expedition who, during the same year, described the houses of the clerks as being unpainted and of the 'plainest possible' construction. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, the leader of the expedition, was a bit more charitable. Though admitting that the interiors of the same quarters were 'unpretending' and 'simply finished with pine board panels, without any paint', he reported that they were, on the whole, 'as comfortable as could be desired.'

This same simplicity – even austerity – prevailed in the furnishings. For the most part the commissioned officers, clerks, tradesmen, and labourers reached Fort Vancouver after long overland journeys from Hudson Bay or Canada. For such employees to transport household goods in quantities larger than could be contained in several of the ubiquitous small wooden trunks called *cassettes* and a couple of additional bundles was almost entirely out of the question. Therefore the Company provided the basic essentials. From available evidence these furnishings – except perhaps in the manager's residence – were indeed minimal. For those servants below the rank of post master (a rank between interpreter and clerk) they were practically non-existent; such persons generally had to provide their own lodgings and equipment at the Columbia depot.

In 1841 Duflot de Mofras recorded that the rooms of the subordinate officers and clerks each could boast of no more than 'a little table, a chair or bench and a camp bed of boards, infested with insects, with two woolen covers.' Assistant Surgeon Holmes noted that the houses of the clerks contained 'no other furniture than a few stools or wooden bottomed chairs and a coarse pine table.' In those quarters, said Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, 'bunks are built for bedsteads.'

Narcissa Whitman, wife of American missionary Marcus Whitman, vividly described the sleeping facilities at Fort Vancouver as she found them in 1836:

> You will ask what kind of beds are used here. I can tell you what kind of bed they made for us after we arrived, & I have since found it a fashionable bed for this country. The bedstead is in the form of a bunk with rough board bottoms, upon which were laid about one dozen of the Indian blankets. These with a pair of pillows covered with calico cases constitute our bed sheets and covering. There are several feather beds in the place, but they are made of the feathers of wild game.

These witnesses did not exaggerate the plainness of the quarters and furnishings for subordinate officers and clerks; this is attested by surviving inventories of Company-owned 'articles in use' in the 'common receptacle of the single officers, called "Bachelor's Hall".' During the spring of 1844, for instance, the seventeen rooms in the clerks' lodgings – and possibly additional rooms as well – contained only the following items supplied by the firm: 11 wash-hand-basins, 14 beds, 37 chairs, 10 earthenware jugs, 4 wooden sofas, 18 wooden tables, and 7 tablecloths.

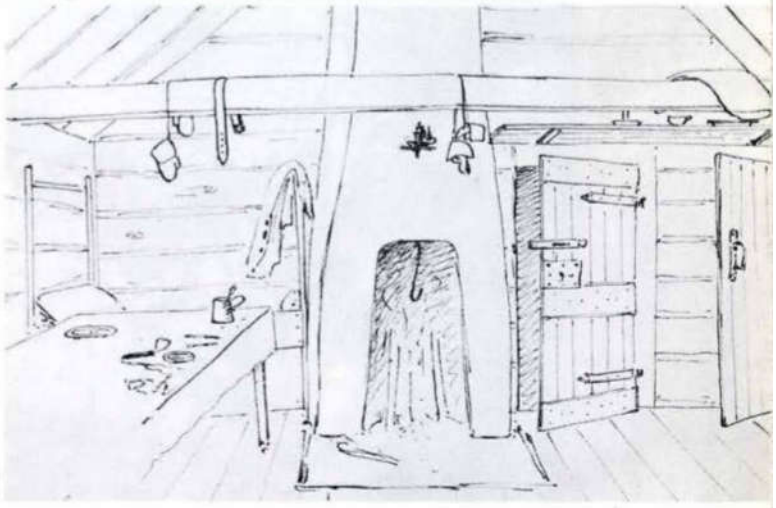
Such touches of decoration as were present were supplied by the 'gentlemen' themselves. John Dunn, a sometime post master at Fort Vancouver, said of the common smoking room in the bachelors' quarters: 'All sorts of weapons, and dresses, and curiosities of civilized and savage life, and of the various implements for the prosecution of the trade, may be seen there.'

The accommodations for clerks and junior officers at Fort Vancouver were not unusually plain for a Hudson's Bay Company post of the mid-nineteenth century. In fact they were considerably more comfortable than those at some of the smaller and more remote establishments. Even at the firm's principal depot in North America, York Factory on Hudson Bay, the clerks' quarters contained only the bare necessities. In an oft-quoted passage from his autobiographic narrative, *Hudson Bay*, clerk Robert M. Ballantyne graphically pictured the rooms in Bachelors' Hall at York as he observed them in 1843:

> The first I entered was very small – just large enough to contain a bed, a table and a chest, leaving little room for the occupant to move about in . . . None of these bedrooms were carpeted; none of them boasted of a chair – the trunks and boxes of the persons to whom they belonged answering instead; and none of the beds were graced with curtains. Notwithstanding this emptiness, however, they had a somewhat furnished appearance, from the number of greatcoats, leather capotes, fur caps, worsted sashes, guns, rifles, shot-belts, snow-shoes, and powder-horns with which the walls were profusely decorated.

The lower grades of 'servants' – the tradesmen, *voyageurs*, and labourers – generally lived in quarters possessing still fewer amenities than did those of the clerks. The usual practice throughout the Company's establishments was to house the greater part of the personnel within the fort enclosure when there was one.

The 'Interior of H. B. Co. Post at Pembina on Red River', a sketch from a series done in Canada between 1838 and 1848.



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In such cases the dwellings of the ordinary workmen were often not unlike military barracks. Robert Ballantyne described one of these men's houses as he found it at Fort Garry during the 1840s.

> It was large, and low in the roof, built entirely of wood, which was unpainted . . . The men's beds were constructed after the fashion of berths on board ship, being wooden boxes ranged in tiers round the room. Several tables and benches were strewn miscellaneously about the floor, in the centre of which stood a large double iron stove, with the word *"Carron"* stamped on it. This served at once for cooking and warming the place. Numerous guns, axes, and canoe-paddles hung round the walls or were piled in corners, and the rafters sustained a miscellaneous mass of materials, the more conspicuous among which were snow-shoes, dog-sledges, axe-handles, and nets.

A former carpenter at Fort Ellice left a somewhat similar picture of the servants' quarters at that prairie post about three decades later.

> There was the men's house, the mechanics' house, the native servants' and dog drivers' houses, also the married servants' houses, each consisting of one large room.
> A door opened into each from the outside and there was no other means of entrance . . . Two tiers of rough bunks round the walls represented sleeping accommodations. A large mud chimney and open fire-place provided ventilation. We did all cooking at the open fireside.

At Fort Qu'Appelle in 1867 there were five dwellings for servants. All were covered by a single roof but separated by log walls carried up to the ridge line. The floors at this post were of planed, tongued and grooved boards, and the walls were 'smoothly plastered with clay and whitewashed'. Except in the interpreter's quarters at one end of the row, which was ceiled and partitioned into rooms with boards, the beams were open or covered by poles, over which hides were laid to serve as a ceiling. Most of the doors were made of parchment stretched on a frame. They were held shut by wooden latches which were lifted by thongs which passed through the doors. In all but the interpreter's house, where there were glass panes, the windows were covered with parchment. Each dwelling contained an 'immense' fireplace which, recorded Isaac Cowie, was required for lighting as well as heat, since 'tallow was too much in demand in the making of pemmican to permit of its being used luxuriously in making candles merely to light "the men's houses".'

Where there was no danger from Indians the lower grades of employees were sometimes permitted to live outside the fort confines, although it was seldom that a clerk or officer was allowed to do so. Such was the case at Fort Vancouver. Except for a few domestics and other workers whose duties required them to live at their places of employment, all of the 'servants' at the Columbia depot resided in houses of varying sizes and descriptions in or near the 'village', a cluster of dwellings on the plain south and west of the palisaded enclosure.

These structures were not provided by the Company. They were erected by the men themselves at their own expense and during what little free time they had – Sundays and holidays largely. As might be expected,

The interior of a Métis dwelling as depicted in the Canadian Illustrated News, 1874.

The Company house built at the end of the Grand Rapids Tramway in Central Manitoba was an example of 'Red River frame' or posts on the sill construction. Photograph by J.B. Tyrrell, 1890.

they differed greatly in size and quality. Some were constructed in 'Red River frame' or posts on the sill with the spaces between uprights filled with horizontal squared logs or with planks from two to four inches thick. Others were built in 'American cottage fashion', framed and weatherboarded; a few were of logs; and a number were of slabs from the depot sawmill.

Described by some visitors as 'comfortable' these dwellings were usually one storey high, although some contained one and a half stories. A number were ceiled on the inside, and by 1849 some were even papered. Others had plastered interior walls. Ordinarily they contained two or three rooms, but many consisted of but a single chamber.

A structure of the smaller type, the home of a Company farmer near Fort Vancouver, was described by a visitor of 1841. The house, he noted in his journal, was 'a wretched log hut, containing one room only, about 10 feet square . . . it contained no other furniture than a pine table and an iron pot; the bed, if it could be called one, consisted of rough pine logs covered by a single blanket . . . and in this house ate drank and slept the farmer, his wife, their three children and the farm servant.' Here, certainly, was simplicity.

The residences of officers, clerks, post masters, interpreters, and others in positions of some authority were ordinarily distinguished by better construction and finish from those of the rank and file employees. And the quarters of post managers, be they clerks, chief traders, or chief factors, were sometimes more carefully finished and better furnished than those of the lesser 'gentlemen'. But the difference was often not particularly noticeable, since all of the officers and clerks frequently lived in the same building, particularly at the smaller establishments.

Usually it was only at the major posts and depots, particularly those readily accessible by ship or boat, that the manager's rooms reflected his position of authority and his economic status. The 'Big Houses' at such establishments, said H. M. Robinson, in *The Great Fur Land* tended to contain 'more of the appliances of civilization', and those officers who were so inclined could command the means to 'render themselves very comfortable, especially as changes in appointments occur less frequently at headquarters than elsewhere.'

An observer at Fort Vancouver in 1841 remarked in his journal that the residence of Chief Factor John McLoughlin was 'well furnished.' Several other guests during the 1830s and 1840s expressed their astonishment at finding the mess hall table in the same dwelling graced by 'elegant queen's ware' and 'glittering glasses and decanters.' It is known that there was a 'sofa' in McLoughlin's study as early as 1836, although whether it was one of the 'Wooden Sofas' listed in depot

inventories or one belonging to the chief factor personally remains undetermined.

In 1840 Letitia Hargrave, wife of the chief factor at York Factory, took great satisfaction in describing her sitting room, furnished with tables, a dark carpet, a sofa, her husband's large desk, and her piano. The curtains at the windows were held back by six curtain pins shaped 'like so many sunflowers magnified'. Mrs Hargrave admitted that these pins, when they arrived in the annual shipment of invoiced goods from London, had been destined for a lady at Red River. But, she owned, 'we seized them.' With such autocratic power, it is little wonder that the factors at major depots got the best of everything.

Such comforts seem to have been the exception rather than the rule, even at the larger posts. American traveller Thomas Jefferson Farnham observed in 1839 that the mess hall in the Big House at Fort Vancouver was 'ceiled with pine above and at the sides', seeming to imply that this important room was unpainted at that time. Heating in the dining hall was provided by a 'large close stove'. No fireplace was mentioned.

Inventories of 'articles in use' in the Fort Vancouver pantry for 1844 and 1845 include such items as earthenware dishes, ivory-handled knives and forks, earthenware and block-tin soup tureens, Britannia metal ladles and spoons, steel-plated spoons, tin tea pots, tin stands for tea pots, glass tumblers, wine glasses, iron tea kettles, tablecloths, and cruet stands. Except for two 'plated candlesticks' and two 'long brass candlesticks' the articles listed do not provide much evidence of elegance.

U.S. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Two large pieces of a blue and white china platter and above the remains of glassware were excavated at Fort Vancouver, Washington in 1966.

A visitor to Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast as late as 1868 found the main room in the dwelling house furnished with a long table in its centre. 'This' he wrote, 'with a row of chairs along the walls constituted almost the only furniture.' Even at York Factory the winter mess hall, while it could boast of a mahogany table, had only 'country made' chairs, and the floor was uncarpeted.

Describing Christmas dinner in the mess hall at Fort Edmonton – no unimportant post – in 1847, the artist Paul Kane wrote: 'No tablecloth shed its snowy whiteness over the board; no silver candelabra or gaudy china interfered with its simple magnificence. The bright tin plates and dishes reflected jolly faces'. Such testimony makes it clear that graceful appointments and imported furniture were far from universal in the Big Houses of the Company's establishments.

This prevailing simplicity, both in the dwellings of the clerks and the officers, was not entirely a matter of isolation and difficult transportation. Nor was it due only to the fact that many of the 'gentlemen', after years of exposure to frontier conditions and frequent changes of station, became 'somewhat careless' about their domestic surroundings. It was also a result of Company policy. When the Reverend Herbert Beaver complained that the furniture in his quarters at Fort Vancouver was rough and his floors were bare, Chief Factor McLoughlin made a display of indignation at these demands for what he held to be luxuries. 'I consider people ought to satisfy themselves with such things as the country affords' he wrote to the Governor and Committee in London 'and I am Averse to the Introduction of any thing in the country which may lead to unnecessary Expence . . . . If he is Allowed carpets and imported furniture – has not every Gentleman in the place a Right to the same Indulgence.'

The Company's policy was expressed with even greater force by its chief officer in America, Governor Sir George Simpson, when he replied in 1844 to an inquiry from the field as to 'what description of articles are to be furnished from the Depot on Outfits to the Districts for Table Furniture.' He answered as follows:

> The Table Appointments throughout the Country have hitherto been upon much too large a scale, far exceeding the consumption of most respectable families in the civilized world, & I think you may safely reduce the usual supplies by 50 p Cent – the descriptions to be of the cheapest, vizt. Tin plates: E ware Cups & Saucers: no table cloths, which with Towels are considered private property. No E ware Dishes: a few Tumblers which answer for Wine glasses. Knives & Forks ought to last at least half a dozen years – in private families they sometimes last 20.

Inventories for subsequent years demonstrate that these instructions, in the Columbia District at least, were

not complied with in all respects. 'Luxuries' such as cut glass salt cellars, wine decanters, 'flat E ware Dishes', wine glasses, and 'Diaper table Cloths' continued to appear on pantry inventories at Fort Vancouver during the several subsequent years for which those records are available.

Despite the abundant evidence to the contrary, there are romantics who still foster the notion that chief factors lived with all the grace and elegant surroundings of wealthy West Indian planters. An early champion of this idea was Pacific Northwest Historian Clinton A. Snowden, who repeated as gospel the legend that Chief Factor McLoughlin maintained a 'sort of medieval state' at the Columbia depot, with a kilted guard to attend his door and a 'highland piper in his tartans who strode up and down the great dining hall at meal times.'

'A certain standard of life was observed at the posts' wrote the knowledgeable Margaret Arnett MacLeod, editor of *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave.* 'Table service was important, and heads of districts usually had their monogrammed silver, and plate chests, and there was crystal on their tables . . . . Angelique McKenzie's monogrammed silver is hallmarked 1830, and the silver tea service that graced her table at Isle a la Crosse is now in the beautiful Toronto home of a descendant.'

The late Dr Burt Brown Barker, the great student of the life of Dr John McLoughlin, was a devoted exponent of the gracious living theory. 'At Fort Vancouver' he wrote, '. . . McLoughlin could make an unusually fine display with the dining table and chairs, probably twenty-four in number, which the Hudson's Bay Company sent him from London . . . . The pair of candelabra, approximately twenty-four inches high, with silver tray and snuffer at hand, appropriately placed on the table, flanking the sterling silver fruit dish, or castor as the occasion required, with a complete coffee or tea set at the end, supplemented by the pearl handled knives and forks with the accompanying spoons at each place, together with the dessert spoon and fork at the front of the plate, would be a setting to cheer the heart of any guest. Add to this picture . . . four decanters in silver holders on the sideboard.'

There is truth in these pictures. The mahogany tables, the graceful chairs, the crested silver, and many other items of furnishings owned by a number of chief factors and other Company officers are still in existence, scattered among descendants or in public museums, restored houses, and other repositories. Unfortunately, the documentation for assertions such as 'these were the dining room table and chairs, which were used originally in old Fort Victoria' or 'the square desk belonged to Dr McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver' is not always as firm as one could wish. It is possible that some of these items, even those now in the hands of, or acquired from, the factors' families, were originally purchased after the Hudson's Bay men had retired to comfortable homes in Victoria, Oregon City, or eastern Canada.

BOYCHUK STUDIO

The dining-room suite said to have been used by Chief Factor John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver.

In any case, the silver candelabra, the heavy plate, and the pearl-handled knives and forks of tradition seem to have no reflection in the tin coffee pots, forebuck-handled tablespoons, and tin candlesticks listed in the inventories of Company-owned table furnishings. Such valuable possessions, when they appeared at all in the Big Houses, must have been the personal property of the officers themselves. And it may be imagined that their appearance in the mess hall was confined to special occasions, since it seems unlikely that they were placed in daily use for the edification of the clerks and junior officers.

What, then, is to be made of the reports of visitors like Anna Maria Pittman who was quite overwhelmed by the 'table set with blue' at which she dined at Fort Vancouver in 1837? First, even the common 'E ware' dishes listed in the inventories were impressive. They were often, as is proved by remnants uncovered by archaeologists, Spode or Copeland pieces of the types so much treasured by antique collectors today. Imported by the Company for the trade, they were of the best quality and handsome in their own right. Second, and perhaps even more important, there was the mental condition of the observers, most of whom had been long out of touch with the amenities of civilized life. Clerk George B. Roberts in later years shrewdly commented upon the enthusiasm with which visitors to Fort Vancouver described the Big House furnishings. 'The decanters & fine English glass set off the table' he wrote '& made it look I suppose superb to those who had come across the country.' ◆

The Calvary at Oka

By John D. Porter
Assistant Curator of Early Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada

THE VILLAGE OF OKA is situated a few miles from Montreal, on the north shore of the Lake of Two Mountains. It was once an Indian mission of the Society of Saint Sulpice. Founded in 1671 at La Montagne near Ville-Marie and moved in 1696 to Sault-au-Récollet, the Sulpician mission was established yet again, this time in 1721, at the Lake of Two Mountains. The new mission, the Sulpicians pointed out 'would be advantageous . . . for the conversion of the savages who, finding themselves farther from the town, would have no opportunity to fall into Drunkenness'.

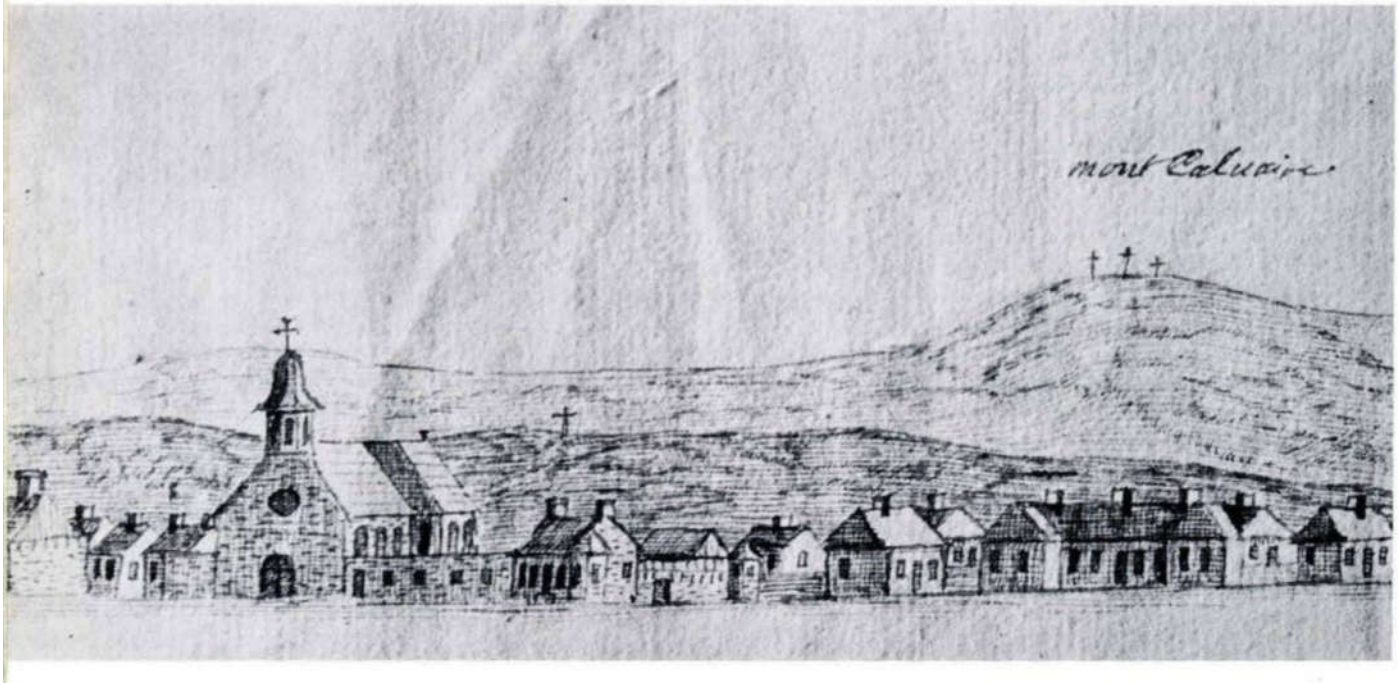
Most of the Indians who came from Sault-au-Récollet with the mission in 1721 were Iroquois, Algonkins, and Hurons; in 1727 they were joined by a group of Nipissings and Algonkins. The mission was on the route that the Indians followed to take their furs to Montreal and Quebec; it attracted a large number of Indians who settled where they could fish in a lake teeming with fish, and hunt in the forest. The Sulpicians encouraged the Indians to cultivate the soil but only the Iroquois, being more sedentary and familiar with agricultural work, responded to the missionaries' hopes by growing Indian corn, beans, peas, and other vegetables. The Algonkins and Nipissings left the mission with their families at the end of September, wintered in the woods to hunt and returned about seven weeks after Easter with skins which they traded for the agricultural produce offered by the French at the mission.

Because of its strategic location, the mission was regarded as an important outpost in the defence system of New France and for this reason the French government insisted that the Sulpicians build a fort there. At first a wooden stockade was built and some years later, in 1741, this was replaced by solid stone walls, twelve feet high and pierced by loopholes. At about this date the Indians abandoned their bark huts and built a new kind of dwelling – log houses in the French style.

At the time of the census in 1733, 560 Indians were enumerated at Lake of Two Mountains; 160 were braves and 400 were women and children. In 1742, there were 300 braves at the mission. Ten years later, despite a terrible smallpox epidemic, the population had risen to 1,060 Indians.

It was essential for the defence of the colony and for the fur trade that the Europeans create very strong ties with the Indians. One of the means of securing their attachment and of having them settle at the mission was to offer them the security of a fort and a garrison. Another means was to convert them to the Catholic religion, which the Sulpicians strove to do. By perform-

A view of the village of Oka done by an unknown artist in the second half of the eighteenth century. From the Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec.



A travelling exhibition entitled 'The Calvary at Oka' has been prepared by Jean Trudel, Curator of Early Canadian Art for the National Gallery and Mr Porter. It will be shown in Canadian cities during 1975 and 1976. Photographs are by the author.

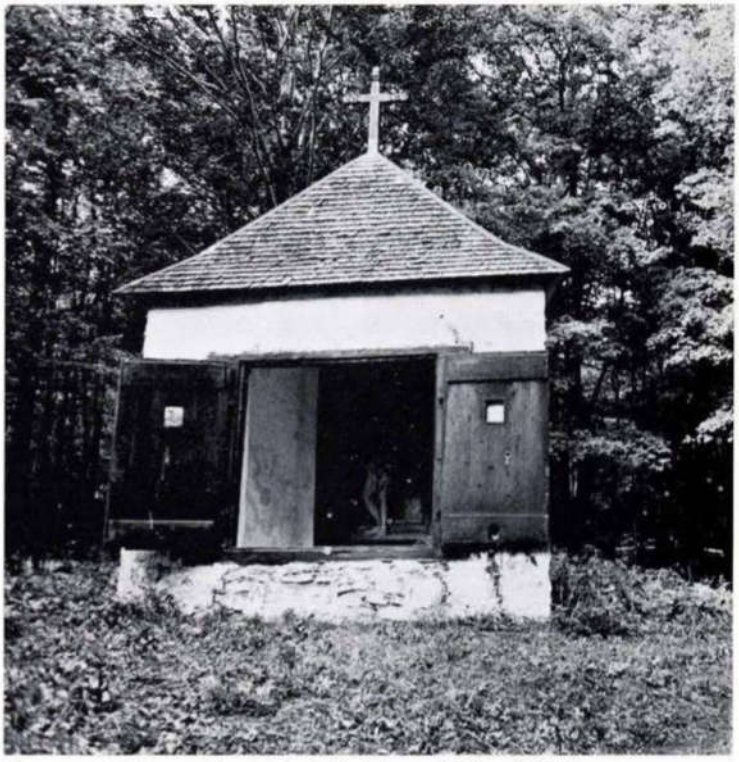
ing numerous religious exercises for them and using outward signs and symbols of religion, they succeeded in inculcating in them some idea of the Catholic religion. For several years a liturgy in the Indian language was used.

The Calvary was constructed between 1740 and 1742 on one of the mountains behind the village as a further means of evangelizing the Indians. It consisted of three chapels and three crosses at the summit of the mountain and four small oratories hidden along a path in the forest on the western slope. The only document that contains some reference to the construction of the Stations of the Calvary was recorded from oral tradition and contained in the 1846 report on the Montreal Seminary by Sulpician Joseph-Vincent Quiblier.

It takes more than an hour to reach the chapel and the three crosses. This chapel overlooks the whole extent of the lake, and all the country in the distance. It is one of the most beautiful places in Canada.

At some distance below this highest point, there is a spring of clear water, to which a curative virtue is attributed, and to which tradition gives an extraordinary origin:

The workmen employed on the construction of these oratories, having found no water in the neighbourhood, were forced to carry water from the lake to the area where they worked, that is, for half a league and more over very bad roads. This work cost them much time and fatigue, and M. Lequin (Le Guen) much money, since the whole was done at his personal expense. The pious missionary had compassion for these good workmen he went to where they were working and said his prayer, and, as he turned around, he pointed to a spring of beautiful water a few steps away; and this consoled and astonished the workers, especially since they had been very zealous in looking for water there and elsewhere without any success.



The second of four small oratories built between 1740 and 1742 along the path on the western slope of the mountain. 1974.

A detail from an early map of the seigniory of Lac des Deux-Montagnes by Pierre-Paul-François de Lagarde (1729-1789). From the Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Montreal.

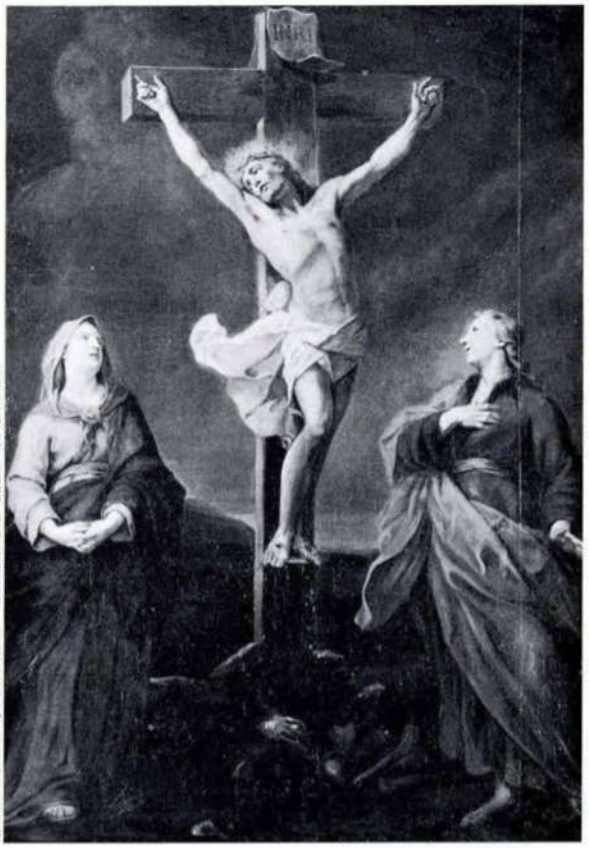
The workmen had been obtaining water for the masonry from the lake nearly two miles from the site and – taking the thickness of the walls into account – impressive quantities would have been required. The discovery of a spring on the site enabled the men to complete the Stations of the Calvary in 1742, after three years of effort.

The three chapels on the summit, quadrangular in shape and with two-sided roofs, were unequal in size. Only the larger central chapel could accommodate the faithful wanting to attend Mass.

In each of the seven buildings there was a large painting illustrating one episode of Christ's passion. On the way to the first oratory there was a cross at the foot of the mountain; three other crosses stood out on the summit in front of the chapels.

The seven pictures of the Calvary were probably in

In 1742 this oil painting of the Crucifixion was installed in the central chapel of the Calvary. It was moved to the Church of the Annunciation at Oka in about 1776 because 'the humidity concentrated in these little chapels, buried in the woods and closed up for eight months of the year, became a real danger to the precious canvases.' The painting was replaced by a relief carved in wood (right) by François Gueron dit Belleville (1740-1817), a sculptor trained in France who lived in the village.

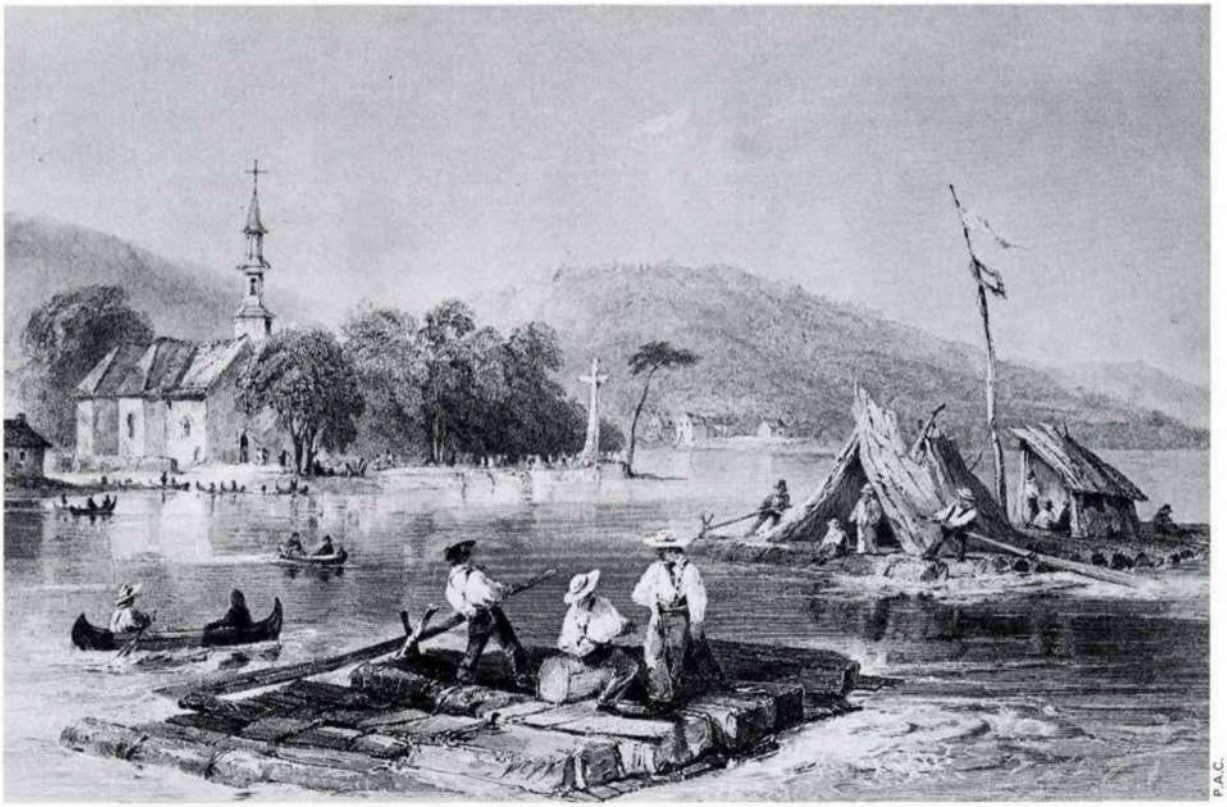


BRIAN MERRETT, MONTREAL – NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

place in 1742; they were large anonymous copies of works by European masters brought from France *c.* 1740. In the small masonry buildings of the Calvary, the pictures suffered from climatic conditions and after about thirty years they showed signs of serious deterioration. So as not to aggravate their condition, it was decided to take them from the oratories and chapels and put them in the shelter of the mission church. To replace them a sculptor was commissioned to execute bas-reliefs in wood modelled on the original pictures. Such works would be better able to resist climatic variations and would enable the Calvary to be kept in use. The reliefs were carved about 1775-1776 by François Guernon dit Belleville. In 1816, the original relief representing the Agony in the Garden of Olives was replaced by a new work sculpted by Louis Quévillon (1749-1823) or one of his associates.

The Calvary at Lake of Two Mountains was not a

Lake of Two Mountains as it appeared in 1840 when the Hudson's Bay Company had an 'Establishment' there. The post was 'very unproductive, barely paying expences' wrote Governor George Simpson on 21 June 1843. It was closed in 1848.



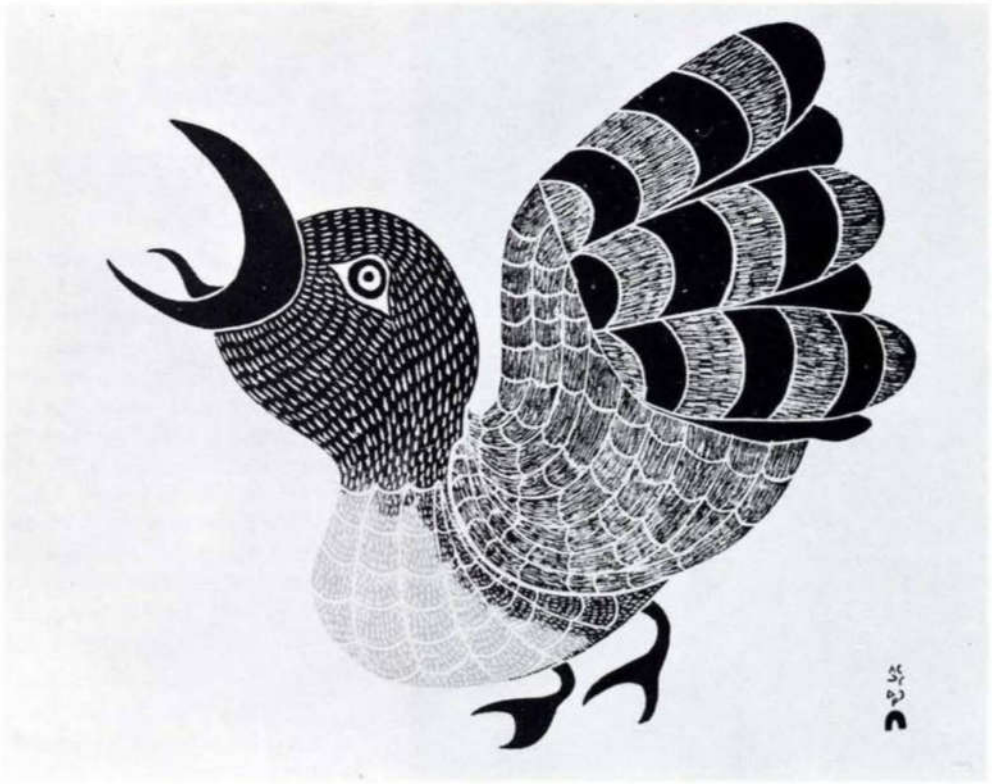
P.A.C.

spontaneous creation of the Sulpicians of New France. Since the fifteenth century there had existed sacred mountains in Europe commemorating Golgotha in the Holy Land, on which the stages of Christ's Passion were recreated. When they built a Calvary for the Indians, the Sulpicians were inspired by Christian traditions and devotions that were current in Europe and which had been brought to New France.

However, what distinguishes the Calvary at Oka from other known Hills of Calvary is the fact that it was originally an instrument for the Sulpicians in teaching the Indians whom they wished to convert to the Catholic religion. The missionaries situated the Calvary in the Indians' natural environment, a superb forest on a mountain with a commanding view of other forests and the immensity of the Lake of Two Mountains. In choosing the episodes from Christ's Passion the Sulpicians very carefully considered the attitudes of the Indians. Each painting was easily understood and each portrayed the violence and suffering inflicted on Christ. Violence and suffering were familiar to Indians involved in tribal wars and enmeshed in the conflicts between the French and the English.

The Calvary at Oka is exceptional, not only for its architecture and its works of art, but also because of the environment in which it is located, and because of its original use. ◆

The three chapels at the summit of the mountain, a 1925 photograph from the collection of Edgar Gariépy in the Archives nationales du Québec, Québec. Only the central chapel where the representation of the crucifixion was housed was large enough to accommodate several worshippers at the same time.



Pitaloosie is among the younger artists whose works are much sought after. Her 'Bird of Sargo' priced at $125 in the 1972 collection sold for $1,175 by silent auction in Hamilton 18 months later.

THE CAPE DORSET PRINTS

BY MARY M. CRAIG

For nine years Mary Craig has been with the Fine Arts Section of Canadian Arctic Producers, Ottawa, the marketing agency for Eskimo fine art and crafts.

EACH YEAR A DATE in early November is chosen as the official day when the annual collection of Cape Dorset prints goes on sale in some fifty galleries in Canada and the United States.

As the day begins the Eskimo artists in Cape Dorset on West Baffin Island sleep on, their creative exuberance stilled and their minds and bodies at rest. Not as peaceful is the scene on Georgia Street in Vancouver, Dresden Row in Halifax, or Elgin Street in Ottawa. There at midnight, lines begin to form outside the doors of darkened galleries where a selection of the prints will be offered.

Those who are experienced in obtaining their first choice of the prints are warmly dressed and carry thermos bottles, blankets, and folding cots to sustain them through the cold hours of early morning. Conversation is at a minimum. Each is silent about the print he has in mind. He may have seen it at a non-selling preview the previous day or he may have heard from a friend who attended the official opening in a distant city that an outstanding print by Kenojuak or Lucy, Kananginak or Pitseolak is offered in the year's collection. Whatever the incentive, lines form and wait for the doors to open. Other collectors rise at 3 a.m. and use bedside telephones. Their calls are timed to reach dealers in New York, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Los Angeles or Frobisher Bay just as the sale begins.

Kenojuak prefers this print 'Festive Bird' 1967, to her famous 'Enchanted Owl' 1960, which traded hands in Calgary last year for $35,000.

Each year fifty numbered prints are pulled from the design cut into a slab of stone; then the block is scored or broken. Franchised dealers are limited to one complete set of the prints except for the Canadian gallery that is selected annually to hold the official opening. This gallery carries two sets of prints; it previews all others by a day, or if the opening is an evening event, by one night. Most galleries have to set systems guaranteeing the fairest distribution possible. A popular way is to allot numbers to the customers according to their positions in the lineup. The holder of number one has the first and his only choice. Complications set in as the prints dwindle and choice becomes limited.

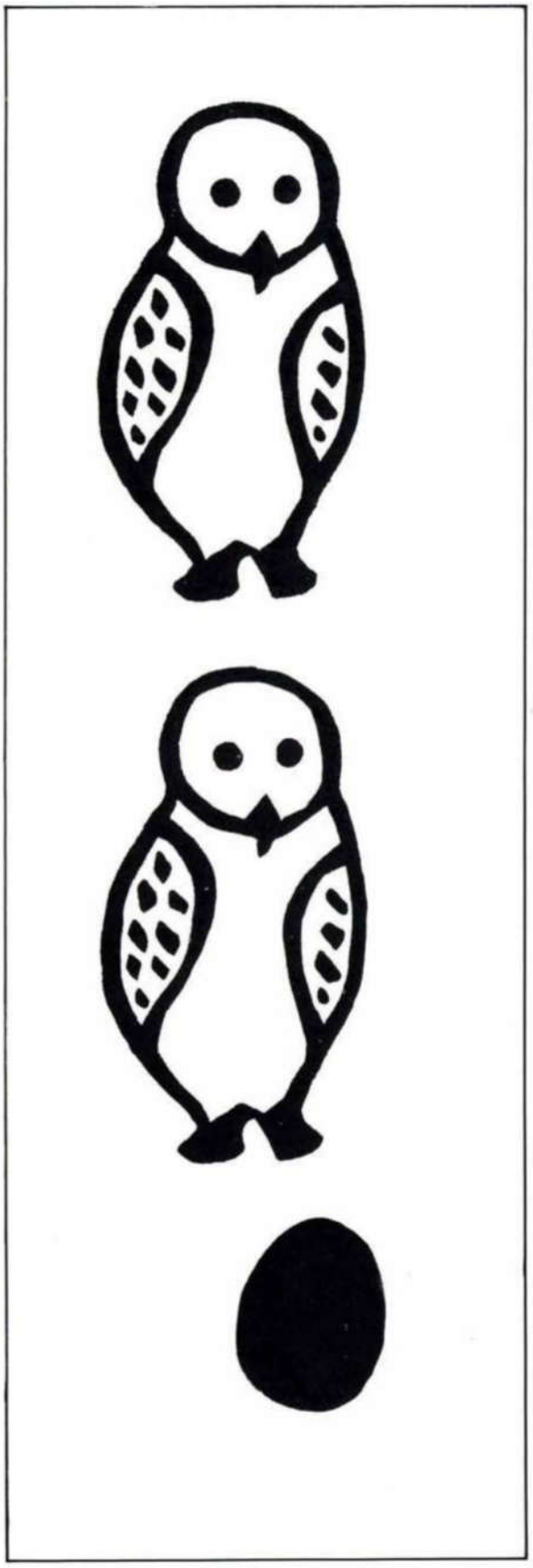
Between 1959 and 1974, Cape Dorset has produced more than 48,000 prints under 1,058 titles and catalogued in 15 editions. (Five prints in 1960 did not appear in that catalogue.)

These figures do not include the uncatalogued collection that James Houston assembled at Cape Dorset during 1957 and 1958. These first prints were small simple designs by artists whose names became established in subsequent years: Pootagook, Oshaweetuk, Kananginak, Luktak, Iyola, and Mungitok. The artist Kudlalak, whose designs 'Canada Goose' and 'Geese Rising' were included, died shortly after the collection was introduced.

Twenty designs made up the 1957-58 collection;

COURTESY: FLEET GALLERY, WINNIPEG

Virtually all fifty copies of 'Summer Caribou', an engraving by Kananginak were sold on opening day 1973. Its value has doubled in the past year.



The stone block for the print 'Snowy Owl and Egg' by Iyola was one of the first made. Alma Houston who has this section of the block (shown horizontally below) in her possession believes that it was cut in the fall of 1957, although prints were not taken from it until 1959. Once thirty prints were taken, the block was broken. 'Snowy Owls and Egg' valued at $1,800 – $2,000 by today's collectors, is held by both the National Art Gallery in Ottawa and the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

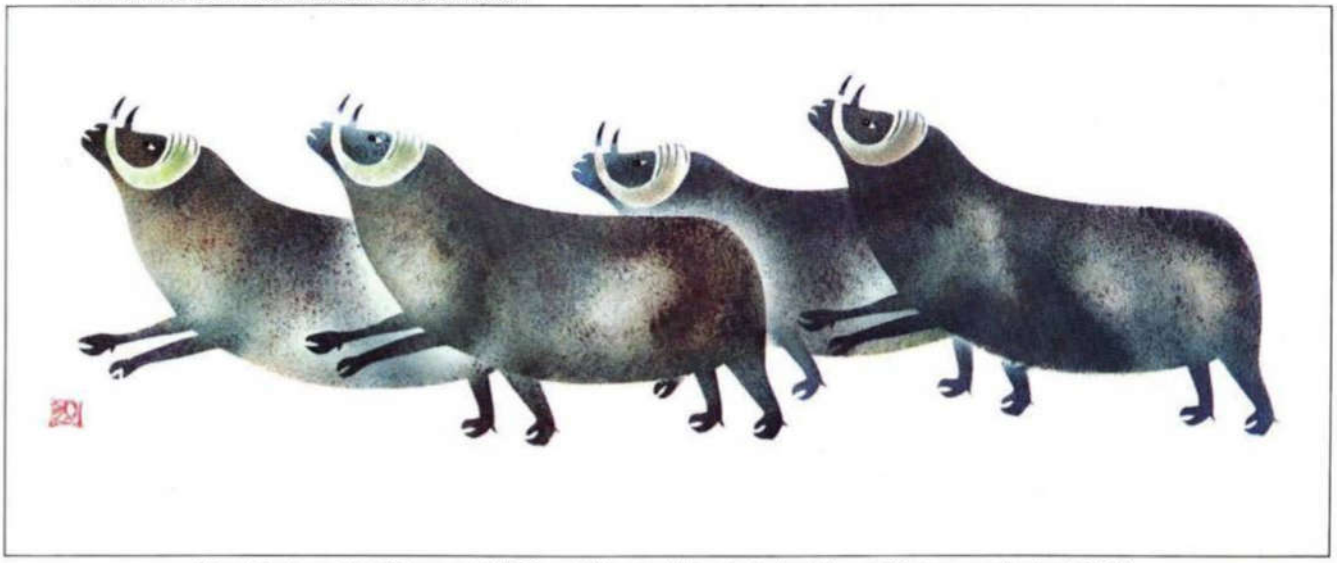
thirty prints were pulled of each, after which the stone cut or sealskin stencil was destroyed.

In December 1958, the Cape Dorset prints went on sale at the Hudson's Bay Company store in Winnipeg. Thirteen designs were offered 'matted ready for framing'; prices ranged from $5.00 for 'Woman and Dog' by Iyola and 'Two Loons' by Luktak, to $12.50 for 'Hunters on Ice' by Mungitok and 'Caribou and Young' by Kananginak.

These small rare prints are often unrecognized by dealers and collectors today. They seldom change hands although it is reported that a complete set of the collection was sold in Vancouver in 1974 for $55,000. This is not an unrealistic figure; some owners of the unusual little prints have refused $2,500 each for them.

In 1974, again in Vancouver, the 1959 collection of Cape Dorset prints – forty-one in all – sold for $74,000. This again was a modest price when the prints that make up the collection are considered. These included a stencil by Niviaksiak 'Man Hunting at Seal Hole'; this print alone brought $5,200 at an auction at Christie's, Montreal, in October 1974. Seven other works by Niviaksiak, of equal if not superior merit, were in the 1959 collection. The first print by Kenojuak 'Rabbit Eating Seaweed' appeared in 1959. The great Pootagook was represented five times; one of his prints 'Joyfully I See Ten Caribou' is now in the National Gallery of Canada. The intriguing linear abstract 'Division of Meat' by Tudlik is also a National Gallery acquisition. Kananginak was represented by three prints; Oshaweetuk's beautiful stencil 'Four Musk Oxen' appeared in a small edition of thirty and the 'Sea Godess', Talluliyuk, was shown in print form, probably for the first time. There were also stone rubbings in editions of ten.

COURTESY: WEST BAFFIN ESKIMO CO-OPERATIVE, CAPE DORSET

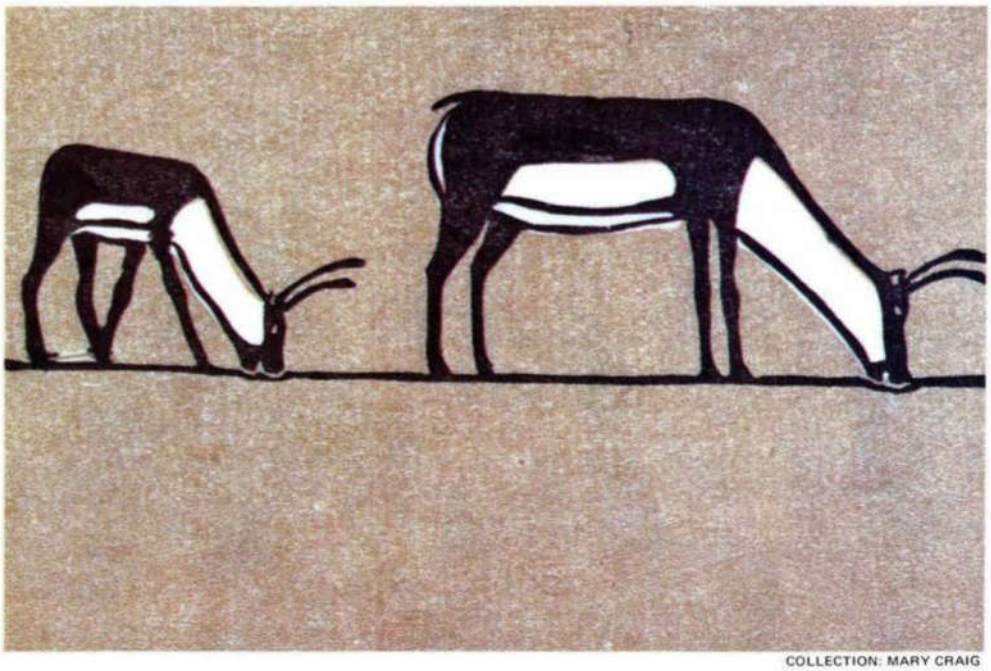


'Four Muskoxen' by Oshaweetuk 1959, sealskin stencil in a limited edition of 30, is now valued at $3,000. Latterly, on his carvings, Oshaweetuk has used the spelling variant Osuitok.

The following year's collection included eleven prints by Kenojuak including 'The Enchanted Owl'. Originally priced at $75.00 'The Enchanted Owl' changed hands for $5,000 in 1969, for $7,000 in 1971, for $10,000 in 1973, for $12,000 in 1974 and again the same year for the staggering sum of $35,000 in a private sale in Calgary, Alberta. One wonders how many of the original fifty prints of 'The Enchanted Owl' are extant and what prices they will bring in future years.

It has to be noted that these high prices are not realized by the Eskimo artist or the co-operative but by fortunate or astute collectors. This is the name of the game, and it is in no way peculiar to Eskimo art.

The year 1960 introduced two more great ladies – Lucy and Pitseolak. It marked the dawning of the brief and brilliant career of the old hunter Kiakshuk who was in his seventies when he started to draw. He died five years later and his last print appeared posthumously in 1967. Kiakshuk's life style, his profound, intimate knowledge of the land and ancient ways is comparable to the late Parr's whose prints distil the Eskimo vision. A collector given opportunity and inclination could have



This rare and simple print 'Summer Caribou' by Pootagook, the great and powerful leader of the Dorset people until his death in 1959, was the first print made at Cape Dorset. A stonecut measuring 6"x4", it was printed in a limited edition of 30. Owners of this print have refused offers of $2,500 for it.

COLLECTION: MARY CRAIG

purchased all seventy of the 1960 prints for $2,070, the total of their initial prices.

The following year, eighty-three prints could have been purchased for $3,184. These would include Lucy's 'Large Bear' owned by the Tate Gallery, and Parr's first stencil print 'Blue Geese Feeding'.

The engravings introduced in 1962 and 1963 for the most part failed to excite buyers, but connoisseurs did not pass them by. Ten years were to elapse before the general collector became aware of them and they gained just recognition. They have not escalated to the extent of the stonecut prints and stencils although the 1962 and 1963 prints are worth eight to ten times their original price.

The first attempt at copper-line engraving by an Eskimo is attributed by James Houston to Iyola, and by Terrence Ryan to Kiakshuk. This is the process of incising lines on a copper plate by means of an instrument called a burin or graver. Parr and Kenojuak and her husband, Johnniebo, briefly used the soft ground etching technique. In this case the image is bitten into the plate with acid; a less precise effect is produced because the line quality cannot be diminished or increased gradually.

Between the years 1964-5 (catalogued together) to 1974 a number of artists produced prints that could be classified as 'sleepers'. Ulayu, for example, who showed several charming prints in the 1964-65 collection including 'I Saw a Strange Bird' would be surprised to hear that her 'Bird' is priced at $1,000 in 1975.

The year 1966 was a brilliant one with Parr, Kenojuak, Lucy, Pitseolak, and Kiakshuk all represented. Two prints issued this year clearly bear the symbol or chop of Pootagook. The great leader died in 1959; the 1966 signature was that of Iyola's wife, Pootogook. The symbols for their names linearly presented are identical, but in the structural designs adopted by the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, the distinction is clear.

The earlier catalogues usually reproduced exact information on the logos of the artists and printmakers – a valuable reference once the prints have been dispersed.

In the centennial year, 1967, a portfolio of six engravings by Kenojuak was issued on the advice of the Eskimo Arts Council. With an introduction by James Houston, a portrait and a biographical sketch of the artist, this collection was originally priced at $400. However several of the engravings had been separately dispersed, reducing the folio edition to 45. In 1974, 5 of the set sold separately in Winnipeg for $300 each.

In 1967, the decision was made, with some trepidation, to price a Kenojuak print at what seemed a whopping price – $95. The chosen print 'Composition' sold in Calgary for $3,500 in 1974. Other Kenojuak prints, including the one that is her personal favourite – 'Festive Bird', sold the same year for prices ranging from $1,200 to $1,800.

In conjunction with Canada's centenary, the National Gallery celebrated the first printmaking years with a

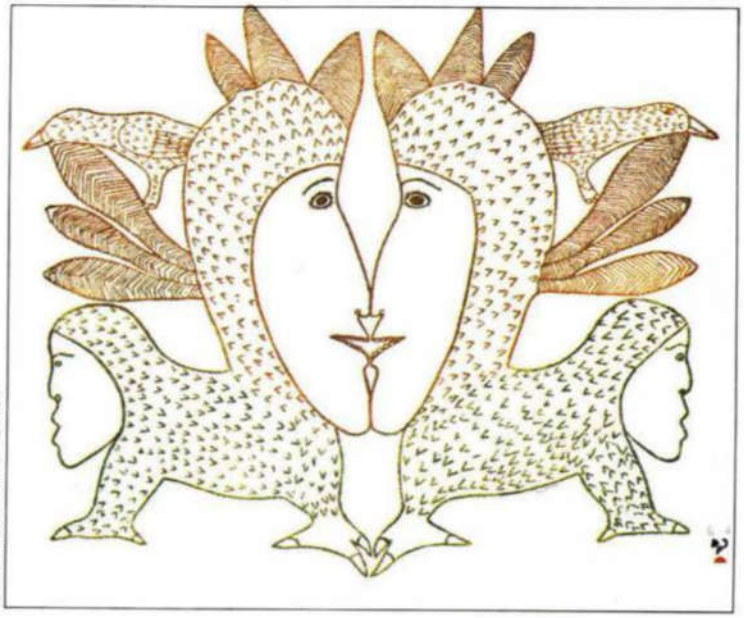
Tudlik was 72 years old and nearly blind when he produced 'Seal thoughts of Man' in 1959. At this time he was internationally famous for his carvings of owls.

COLLECTION: I. G. LINDSAY

Eegyvudluk and author Mary Craig watch as Iyola prepares to ink the stone for Kenojuak's 'Night Hunter'.

PHOTO: J. K. B. ROBERTSON

Kakulu, whose print 'Reflected Images' was included in the 1974 collection, is young and talented.



COLLECTION: PAT PATTERSON

'Mother birds Protecting Young' a sealskin stencil by the famous and prolific Pitseolak, from the 1961 collection.

H B C COLLECTION

In this signature the symbols are those of the artist Pootagook and below, the printmaker Kananginak. The igloo is the mark for prints of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative.

COLLECTION: H. W. SUTHERLAND

'Arctic Shore Birds', a sealskin stencil by Luktak 1959, is valued with others from the collection of this year, at $2,500.

COURTESY: FLEET GALLERY, WINNIPEG

In 1962 the copper engravings were included in the collection. This one, by Iyola, is believed to be one of the first.

Eegyvudluk pulling Kenojuak's Print 'The Owl', 1969.

circulating exhibition 'Cape Dorset – A Decade of Prints and Recent Sculpture'. In the foreword to the catalogue, James Houston wrote 'Whether the coming generation will be encouraged to carry forward their natural artistic heritage remains the question to be answered in the future.'

Part of that future has now passed and we have part of the answer. Some of the older artists – Lucy, Pitseolak, and Jamasie – are still with us, perennially in demand. Pudlo has joined these pace-setters with 'Umingmuk' in 1970 and 'Long Journey' in 1974. Parr is gone but 'Hunters of Old' was issued posthumously in 1974 at $800, an unprecedented price for a new release. It traded quite blatantly within hours for double that figure. Kananginak, who was 40 on New Year's Day and Kenojuak are still in their creative prime.

Other older people, Ikayukta, Kingmeata, and Keeleemeome, whose talents lay dormant for the greater part of their lives have shared their dreams with us in their latter years. Time will limit their contribution as, sadly, it has for Eleeshushe, Anna, and Peter Pitseolak. Ningeeuga, not young herself, is perhaps following the example of her mother, Anirnik, in showing us glimpses of the many-faced spirits she knows so well.

The young, but not the very young, are still attracted by printmaking as a means of expression. Pitaloosie (Pauta's wife) first appeared in 1968. Her works are much sought after; 'Bird of Sargo' produced in 1972 brought $1,175 by silent auction in Hamilton eighteen months later. Sorosilutu and Kakulu are both young and talented.

In Cape Dorset, stonecut printing and engraving have rival interests to lure away young creative minds. The stone lithograph will appear in the near future; animated film making, tapestry weaving, jewellery making and typography are all being taught in the community.

The selection of prints for the annual Cape Dorset collection is approved by the Eskimo Arts Council. The blind stamp of the Council appears on each print as well as the signatures of the printmaker and the artist in syllabics, and the igloo, the mark used by the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative for prints.

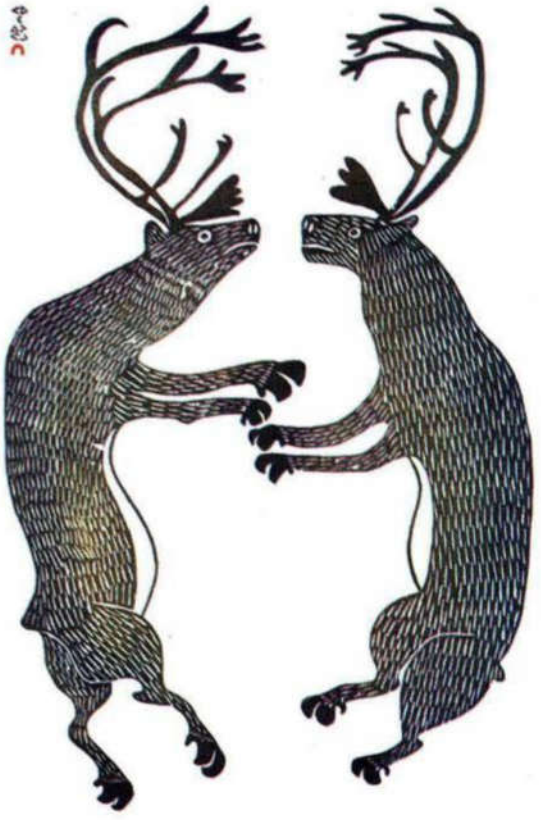
A suggested retail price list accompanies each new collection. At the time each dealer is asked to withhold the prints from the public until a specified date. It works well for the artist when prints are launched simultaneously and at the same prices. Dealers who ignore the price list, who ask higher prices, or who sell before the launching date can only be considered exploitive. On the other hand, to price excessively at source would be equally exploitive.

To the artists themselves, printmaking remains a curious and exciting facet of their lives. One April day in 1968 that wise old lady, Pitseolak, in a conversation with Alma Houston and Oshaweetuk said 'Sometimes I would laugh to myself; I am making my living with paper that tears, and I depend so much on it!' ◆

Anirnik born in 1909 began to draw compositions from the spirit world in the 1960s. In 'Spirit with Sea Animals' the spirit wears a pointed gnome-like hat.

COURTESY: FLEET GALLERY, WINNIPEG

'Two Caribou' by Pauta contributed to the brilliance of the 1967 collection. Originally priced at $75, its value now ranges from $1,200 to $1,500.



COLLECTION: S. A. SMITH

THE CARE OF FINE PRINTS

THE ESKIMO PRINTS from Cape Dorset are printed on Japanese 'rice paper' which is, in fact, made of mulberry bark. The enemies of these works of art on paper include dust, air pollution, excessive heat and humidity, and *all* light.

The one safe matting board for the prints is a high grade cellulose obtained from cotton fibres. It is called 'Museum Board', 'All Rag Board' or '100% Rag Board'; it comes in white and off-white only. A four-ply thickness (1/16 inch) provides enough depth to give a print freedom for the slight buckling that can occur with changes in atmospheric conditions and, when framed, allow air to circulate as a buffer against condensation on the glass. A high-grade water-colour paper will do if Museum Board is not available. All other mat boards, including those with a facing of rag stock, contain harmful chemicals which migrate to the print, staining and eventually destroying the paper.

Just as important as the quality of the mat board are the methods and materials by which the print is attached to it. The margins must never be trimmed. The size of the paper and the position of the image on it are part of the artist's original concept. Sometimes the margins are folded to accommodate a visual preference but this impairs the pristine quality of the print.

Under no circumstances should prints ever be drymounted. This process, which attaches a print to its backing like wallpaper prevents the paper fibres from expanding and contracting in response to atmospheric changes. But more important, it incorporates a foreign material which, once again, spoils the original concept. The glue in drymount paper is another abusive agent.

Prints should be attached to their backing at the upper corners only, by hinges made of good quality gummed paper (stamp hinges), pure linen gummed tape or Japanese paper applied with a vegetable paste. Pressure sentitive tapes: scotch, masking and brown wrapping tape, and synthetic glues or rubber cement all have destructive properties and should never be used. A gummed cloth tape is best to attach the front of the mat to the back.

A thin piece of mat board hidden beneath the inner edge of the frame serves the purpose of a visible mat if the latter is not wanted. These hand-made papers have at least three uncut or deckle edges. Often it is a shame to cover them. Plexiglass, which does not condense moisture as easily as glass, may quite safely be in contact with a print. It is unbreakable and can be obtained with additives that filter out the ultra-violet rays which cause fading. Plexiglass scratches easily, attracts dust and is expensive.

The choice of a frame is a personal matter. The important thing is to ensure an adequate seal between the frame and the back board to prohibit entry by dust and other pollutants.

A word of warning – not all framers follow these procedures. If in doubt, do the vital steps yourself.

Prints, preferably matted, should be separated by layers of non-acid papers. Storage cases must have less than 70 per cent humidity to prevent the growth of mould. If 'foxing' is discovered early enough, exposure to direct sunlight for about an hour should kill it. Mould feeds on the paper fibres, weakening the sheet, so prompt action is recommended. Thymol crystals placed in the storage area will help prevent the growth.

Dust, too, contains a large amount of air-borne mould spores. For this reason, cellulose acetate, with its dust-attracting static electricity, is not recommended as a permanent covering.

Provision for the free circulation of air also inhibits the growth of mould.

All hung prints are subject to fading, given time. One must find a compromise between enough light for proper viewing and not too much to hasten the action. Excessive heat will shorten the life of paper. It is not a good idea to hang a print over an active fireplace or radiator.

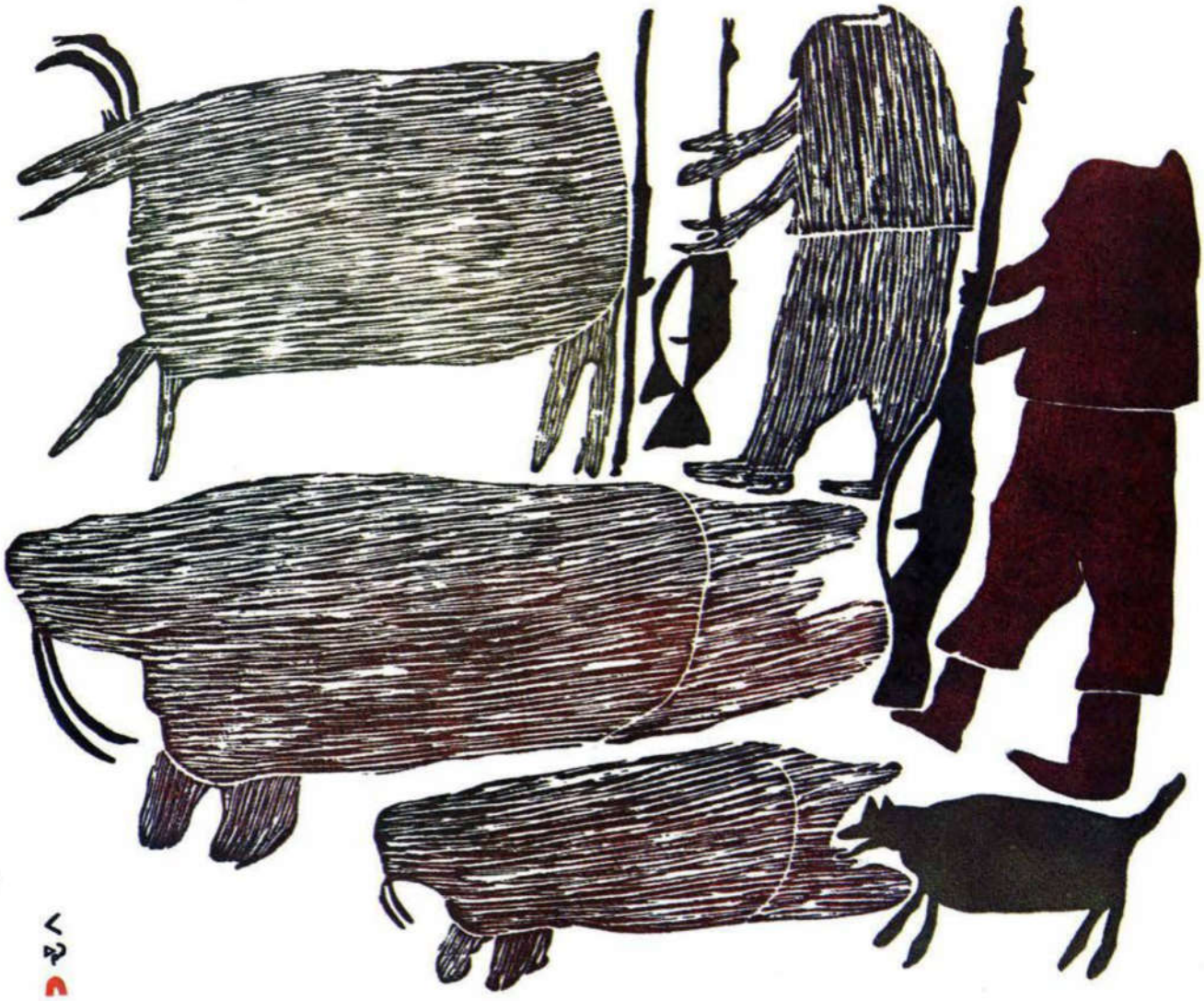
City dwellers face the added hazard of air pollution. A major component of smog is sulphur dioxide produced from the combustion of fossil fuels. If absorbed by paper it converts into sulphuric acid, causing discolouring, embrittlement, and finally, disintegration. Adequate sealing of frame and back board is essential.

The dangers resulting from excessive humidity have already been discussed. Outside damp walls, as found in old stone houses, are unsuitable environments.

Restoration is not for amateurs. Consult museum experts. However, in case of one common malady we offer a safe remedy; a wrinkled print can usually be restored by placing it between sheets of dampened blotting paper, backed on either side by dry blotting papers and then subjected to pressure – a complete set of encyclopedia weighs about enough. Two applications will be needed. The first one to ensure that wrinkles are pressed out should be imposed for a few hours only; upon its success, the second application embodying the drying process may take a day or two.

Fine prints do require special care. Owners of Eskimo prints have the dual responsibility of protecting a personal investment and preserving a great cultural heritage.

MARY CRAIG



'Hunters of Old' by Parr was issued posthumously in 1974 at $800, an unprecedented price for a new release. Within hours it traded for double the figure.

OAK HAMMOCK MARSH

By Robert W. Nero

Photographs by Robert R. Taylor

EACH YEAR IN SPRING and fall a host of birds migrates along the course of the north-bound Red River through Winnipeg. Hawks of several species silently circle high above the busy streets, swept along on strong winds, noticed by few urbanites. Wild geese follow the river and their flights over the city at times are noticed by many. Familiar honking calls, especially in spring, announce the passing of geese, sounding a cheerful note to mark the end of winter.

In spring the flat, soggy grain fields that surround Winnipeg like a blanket attract thousands of geese. Waste grain and spring run-off are ideal conditions for hungry flocks. Each year within twenty miles of the city one can see great flocks of geese for a few cold weeks. It is a temporary phenomenon, for most of these birds are bound for nesting grounds farther north – to the Hudson Bay coastline and far beyond. Waterfowl, particularly geese, are traditional creatures, each population returning to its own distinctive breeding grounds. Many of the Snow Geese that pass over Winnipeg in spring fly onwards for hundreds of miles to nest on the High Arctic islands.

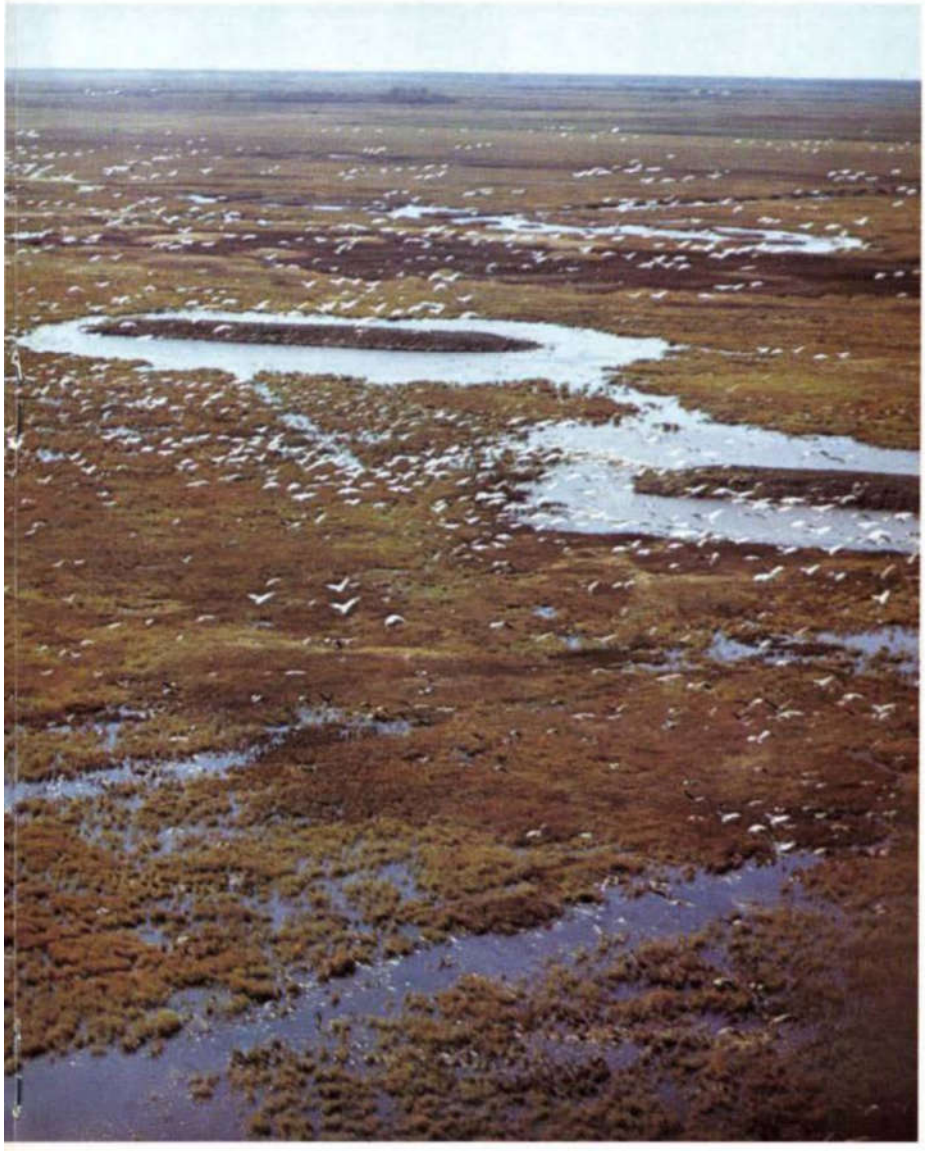
Formerly, large numbers of waterfowl nested in marshes north and west of the city. Only two low-lying areas have escaped drainage. Grant's Lake, a small remnant marsh and game bird refuge, attracts numerous geese in spring and fall, but has only a small resident duck population. St. Andrew's Bog, once so large and wet that steamboats carried passengers across it between Selkirk and Stonewall, dwindled to a few dozen acres of marsh in a small but relatively deep basin. Despite miles of drainage ditches, in years of heavy run-off, temporary floods still occur over many acres of farm land adjacent to St. Andrew's Bog. Wavey Creek, which runs through this area, was long ago transformed into a series of straight-line channels speeding flood waters east into the Red River and permitting farmers to get on the land in time to sow crops.

Now a transformation has taken place. The engineering skills that drained most of St. Andrew's Bog have been applied to the restoration of the heart of this

Snowy Owl.

"We need the tonic of wilderness, to wade sometimes in marshes where the bittern and the meadow-hen lurk, and hear the booming of the snipe; to smell the whispering sedge where only some wilder and more solitary fowl builds her nest, and the mink crawls with its belly close to the ground. At the same time that we are earnest to explore and learn all things, we require that all things be mysterious and unexplorable, that land and sea be infinitely wild, unsurveyed and unfathomed by us because unfathomable. We can never have enough of nature."

– Thoreau (from 'Walden')



A Canada Goose, an early spring arrival.

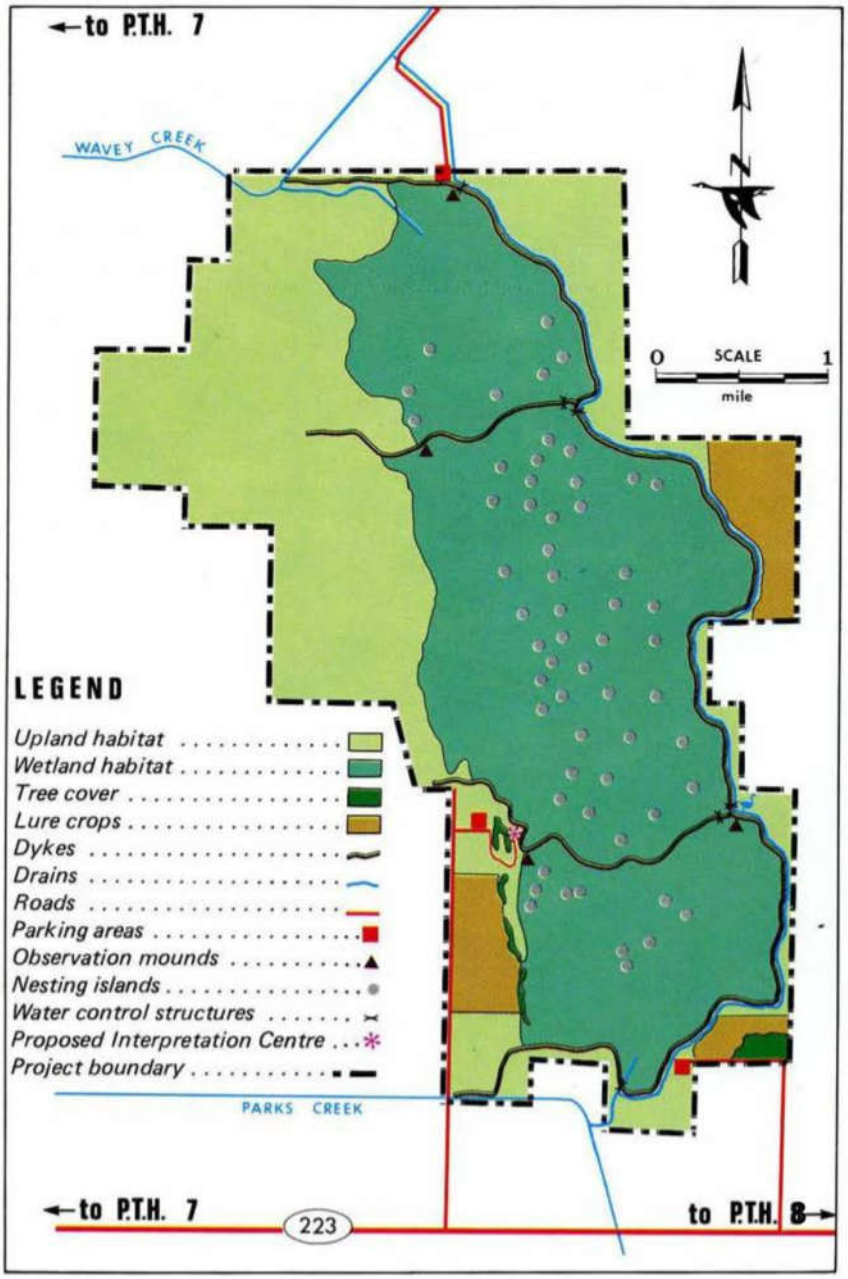
Lesser Snow Geese flying over Oak Hammock Marsh.

Dr Nero, wildlife biologist with the Manitoba Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, is author of numerous papers on the wildlife of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Photographer Robert Taylor is a wildlife extension specialist with the same department.

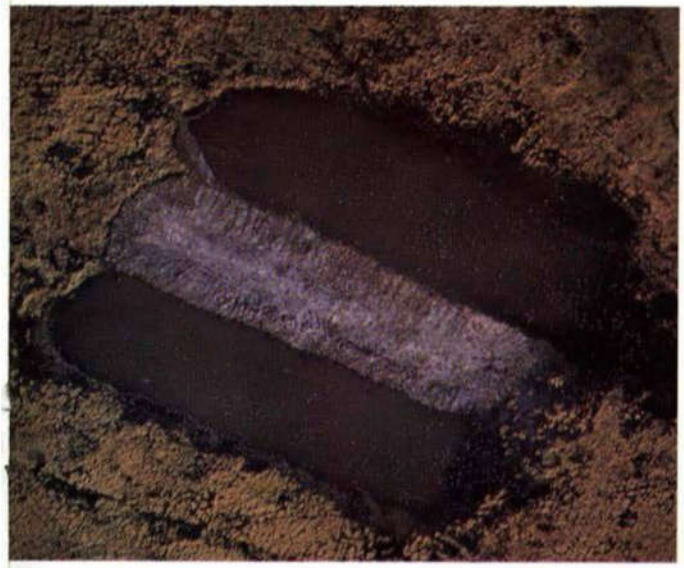
A Horned Grebe on nesting territory.

Marbled Godwit.



famous old marsh. Since 1967 the province has purchased, through volunteer sale, more than 8,000 acres of private land. Low crop productivity on some drained lands, continued problems with flooding, and especially, increasing demands by public groups for more wildlife habitat and increased opportunity for recreation, led to the designation of this area as a major wetlands project. Local Game and Fish Associations sought for years to have this marsh preserved. It remained threatened by drainage until chosen for restoration by Charles C. Dixon, provincial Wildlife Development Specialist. The proposed development, now a reality in many ways, is known as the Oak Hammock Marsh Wildlife Management Area.

Mallards rest in large numbers on the man-made islands.



Canada Geese in flight above the marsh.

The name Oak Hammock has an early origin. Adam McDonald, a homesteader in this area in 1874, named his farm 'Oak Hammock' because of a wooded knoll or 'hammock' of about 20 acres on his property. These were the only known oak trees in any number for miles around. The name Oak Hammock was also given to a post office which was still in use in the early 1900s. Fortunately, several acres of oak woods lie within the boundaries of the project, helping to justify the name and providing further habitat diversity.

My acquaintance with Oak Hammock began several years ago when Ken Gardner, author of *Wild Wings*, a nature column in the *Winnipeg Tribune*, led me to one of his favourite birding sites. The Oak Hammock area is level and seen from a distance the marsh was not readily apparent. Occasional birds in flight – ducks, terns, and blackbirds – over a dark-green mass of vegetation were the first signs of the marsh. We searched for Yellow Rails in a sedge meadow, then watched familiar Red-winged Blackbirds and gaudy Yellow-headed Blackbirds in a line of huge old willows along a ridge on the west side of the area. Here too we found Song Sparrows and Yellowthroats on territory; Short-billed Marsh Wrens chattered in upland meadows while Long-billed Marsh Wrens poured out song from nearby cattails.

Where formerly there was a small remnant marsh known to a few bird-watchers and duck hunters there now exists an astonishingly productive wetlands. Oak Hammock Marsh has been re-born; thousands of acres of open water and aquatic vegetation attract numerous waterfowl and other marsh birds. Grassed, earthen lookout mounds are conspicuous against the low horizon line and visitors stroll along a maze of winding dykes. The first major wetlands development project in southern Manitoba is now a reality.

At Oak Hammock Marsh the Manitoba government in co-operation with Ducks Unlimited (Canada), has constructed more than 14 miles of dykes to hold water on public lands for the benefit of wildlife. An outside drainage ditch ensures that if water escapes it will be safely carried away. Because the land slopes west to east the dyke system is built along the east side of the marsh; dykes also divide the marsh into three compartments.

Control structures at several points permit the manipulation of water-levels separately in each compartment, fluctuating water-levels being important to rejuvenation of marsh habitat. Thus, it will be possible to develop and maintain optimum conditions within the marsh for ducks, muskrats, and the many other wildlife species normally found in a productive marsh. Fifty-eight huge islands, roughly 30 feet wide and 200 feet long, were constructed with Ducks Unlimited funds in late summer and fall 1972 to provide special nesting and loafing sites for waterfowl; surrounded by open water these sites provide protection from land predators. One of the islands will be covered with gravel to attract colonial nesting gulls and terns, thus providing an additional ornithological feature. Many of the islands will be seeded to develop grassy nesting cover; others will be left to revegetate naturally.

Basic to all planning at Oak Hammock Marsh was the assumption that an aesthetically pleasing aspect was important to appreciation of the marsh and its wildlife. The late Allan J. Pakulak insisted that the dykes should be built in curved instead of straight lines, to maintain a natural aspect. Similarly, borrow pits were given pleasing outlines to reduce the appearance of artificiality and to provide more edge for wildlife use. It was this desire to construct irregularly-shaped ditches and pits that gave rise to two pits with outlines resembling giant waterfowl; filled with water, their avian forms are visible from the air as a giant goose and duck. From the ground these huge birds are merely two more ponds used by waterbirds, but every waterfowl survey biologist who flies over this area will be reminded of Pakulak's inventiveness, drive, and love of waterfowl. In the fall of 1973, Al Pakulak and Claude C. Holmstrom, another biologist working on the project, along with the pilot, died in a helicopter accident while making a waterfowl count in the area.

Although the immense construction works needed to restore Oak Hammock Marsh may suggest an artificial effect, the marsh will be mostly natural in appearance and certainly natural in function. The dykes, the biggest man-made part of the project, once covered with grass and other plants will be used as nesting sites by waterfowl and other birds. They provide, as well, a vantage point for people to view marsh wildlife. Numerous kinds of marsh plants already grow in the area. These will quickly respond to increased water-levels and will ensure the development of a diverse habitat with food and shelter for a wide range of wildlife species, from snails and frogs to marsh wrens and muskrats. Man can only assist the natural processes that already exist. Man supplies the dykes, a means of storing water with a capacity for regulating water-levels. Plants and animals adjust to the new conditions, appearing as if by magic: in short, the marsh makes itself.

Oak Hammock's main water supply comes from run-off waters, from melting snow and spring rains, and

A giant duck-shaped pond.

Huge man-made islands provide protection from land predators.

water drawn from drainage ditches that run close by. Springs that run throughout the year also feed into the system; the springs in themselves are natural wonders, running deep and clear. In some years in the past they provided open water that kept a few hardy ducks over winter. Eight wells, drilled to provide a supplementary source of water in times of drought, guarantee that the marsh need never go dry. Waterfowl biologists are quick to point out, however, that at times it may be useful to lower the water-level in a compartment, an occasional drought period or 'draw-down' being beneficial. But the presence of three compartments means that a large portion of the marsh can always be kept in productive condition.

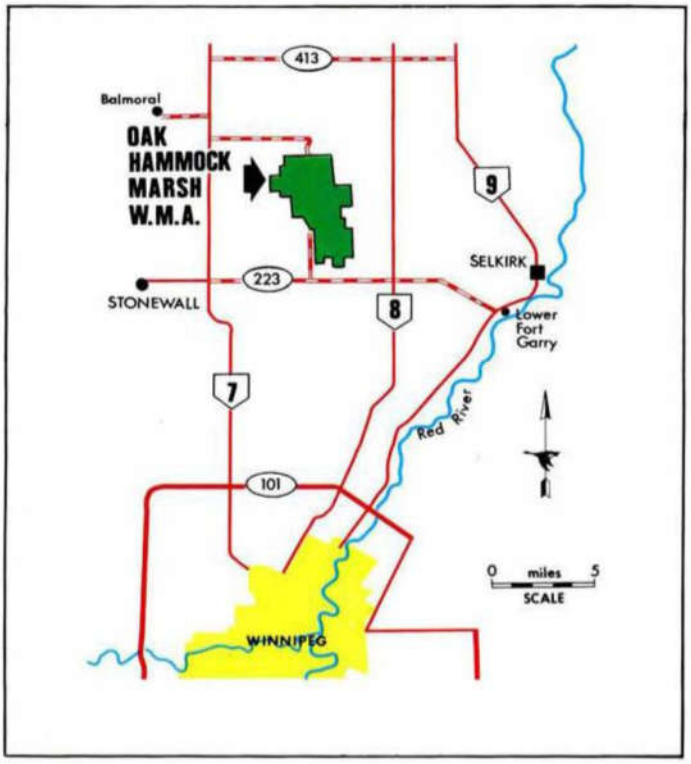
About half of the area will remain in upland habitat to be managed chiefly for increased productivity of waterfowl. Ducks, particularly dabbling species such as Mallards, Pintails, and Wigeons require more than water; heavy, grassy cover is essential for nesting, in the proportion of about two-thirds upland to one-third water area. Suitable nesting cover will be established by sowing a mixture of grasses and legumes on land already or formerly under cultivation. Uncultivated lands, native prairie, sedge meadows, and other types of habitat, will be managed to maintain a natural state. These areas already attract Sharp-tailed Grouse and numerous other birds.

Development of a wide range of cover types on the uplands to attract a greater variety of wildlife is one of the basic objectives of the project. Native trees and shrubs will be planted to develop additional habitat. Even under present conditions Oak Hammock is used by an abundance of species. More than 160 kinds of birds and 24 mammals have been recorded at Oak Hammock, including such unlikely visitors as a Canada lynx and a wandering black bear seen by workmen on the site in the fall of 1973.

Although meagre run-off water in spring 1973 resulted in low water-levels in the marsh, the response of waterfowl was remarkable. At peak levels of spring migration, up to 70,000 Canada Geese used the newly flooded marshland and islands. Summer waterfowl use also exceeded expectations; breeding ducks numbered in the hundreds in spite of limited habitat. That fall, Oak Hammock Marsh and a large surrounding region were closed to waterfowl hunting; subsequently, peak numbers of 40,000 Canada Geese and Snow Geese rested undisturbed. An estimated 16,000 Mallards and 11,000 Pin-tails also used the area. Snow Geese have not previously used this marsh in numbers and it is expected that a new tradition will have been established, ensuring their appearance in both spring and fall.

Spring concentrations of geese have enormous appeal, but the arrival of large flocks in fall before cereal crops are harvested is viewed with alarm by farmers. Hungry migrant geese often pose potential problems of crop depredation. Portions of upland within the boundaries of the project have been used for 'lure crops'; fields of grain are grown and swathed to attract feeding birds, keeping them off adjacent private lands until all crops are in. When geese spill over into unharvested fields, these may be purchased to serve as additional lure crops. Hunting is another means of reducing crop damage and the present goose populations can readily provide this activity.

The greatest benefit from the restoration of Oak Hammock Marsh is the opportunity it provides for people to enjoy the sights and sounds of large flocks of geese and ducks, other marsh wildlife, and the marsh

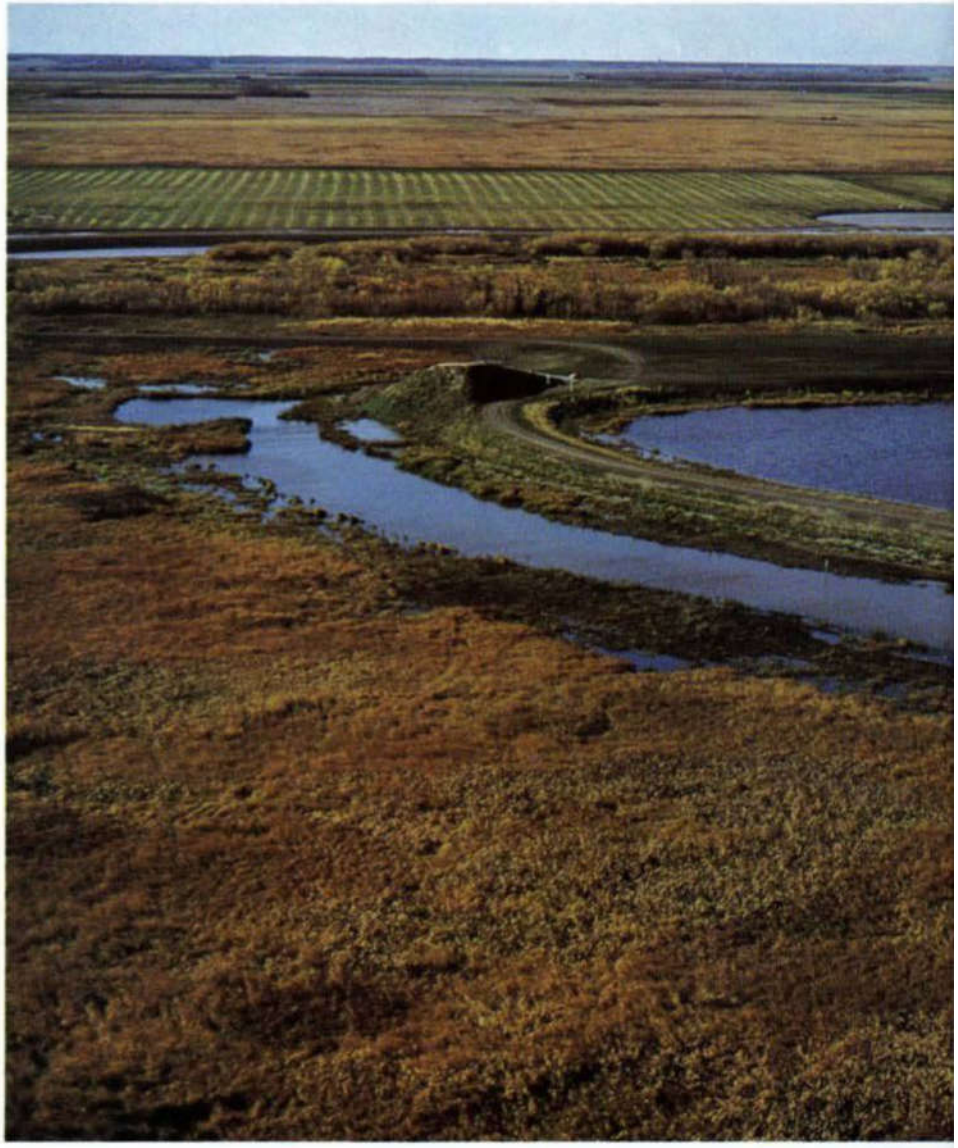


landscape itself. The natural response of native aquatic plants to water results in a pleasant combination of open water, reed beds, and submerged plants of high value to wildlife. The quacking of a duck, the cheerful song of a Red-winged Blackbird, and the rushing flight of teal across the sky over the marsh provide an incomparable picture of wild nature. In all seasons the marsh is beautiful, but in spring when birds are in full song, when the marsh is vibrant with the activity of wildlife returned to the nesting grounds, when even at night there is a heavy chorus of sounds from frogs, toads, and bitterns the marsh is a wondrous place to visit.

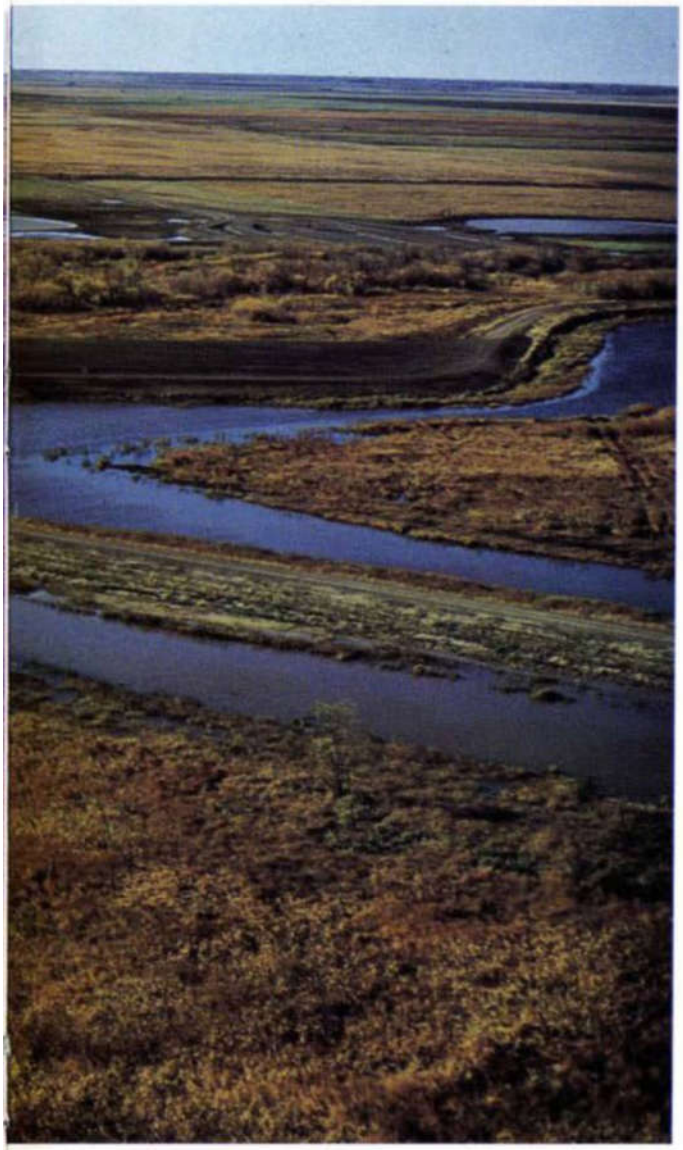
At noon on a bright summer day within the dense stands of six-foot-high reed grass the heat is intense and

A pair of Blue-winged Teal.

Boreal Chorus Frog.



View of a dyke and observation mound.

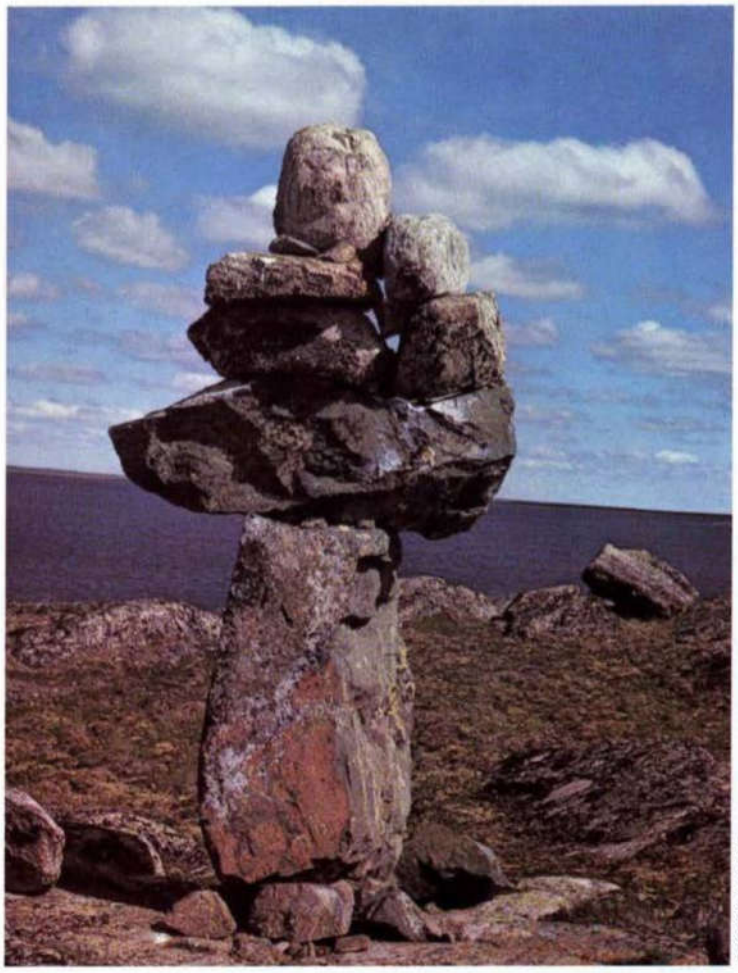


one seeks the open pools with relief. Minnows flash silver beneath the water and over the black, mucky bottom, while hovering Black Terns cry overhead, following the intruder and occasionally diving down savagely in defence of their young. It is a world apart, this marsh, as pure as any wilderness, and at such times as remote as any place can be.

Provision of boardwalks, a planned interpretive facility, will provide safe and easy access for all visitors, leading young and old, and handicapped persons, out into a portion of the marsh itself, thus allowing an intimate contact with the environment. To stroll casually through a dense stand of giant reed grass and then suddenly emerge into an open bay with interspersed clumps of bulrush and cattails can be an impressive experience. Walking dry-shod across the transition zones from uplands to deep water, a person can see marsh plants and animals at close range, a marvellous learning opportunity available to all. Reed grass is presently a dominant species over much of the area, largely the result of low water-levels for several years. With higher, sustained water-levels there is expected to be a change to more diverse plants of greater use to wildlife. With development of cattail beds, muskrats will increase in abundance, opening up solid stands of vegetation and thus further improving the habitat for waterfowl. Changes over the years and even during a season reflect the dynamic qualities of the marsh ecosystem.

Marshes are a feature of the Manitoba landscape, as distinctive in their own way as broad forests or rock-bound lakes of the Precambrian Shield country. In terms of wildlife, marshes are the most productive areas of the province, an abundance of species making their homes solely or mainly in marshland habitats. The most productive marshes occur in areas of high soil fertility, thus in the Agro-Manitoba landscape, marshes have special value, adding variety and beauty to intensively farmed regions. For many people, lacking an opportunity to travel far or long, marshes offer momentary escape from the daily chores. The variety and abundance of life in a marsh makes even a short visit memorable. ◆

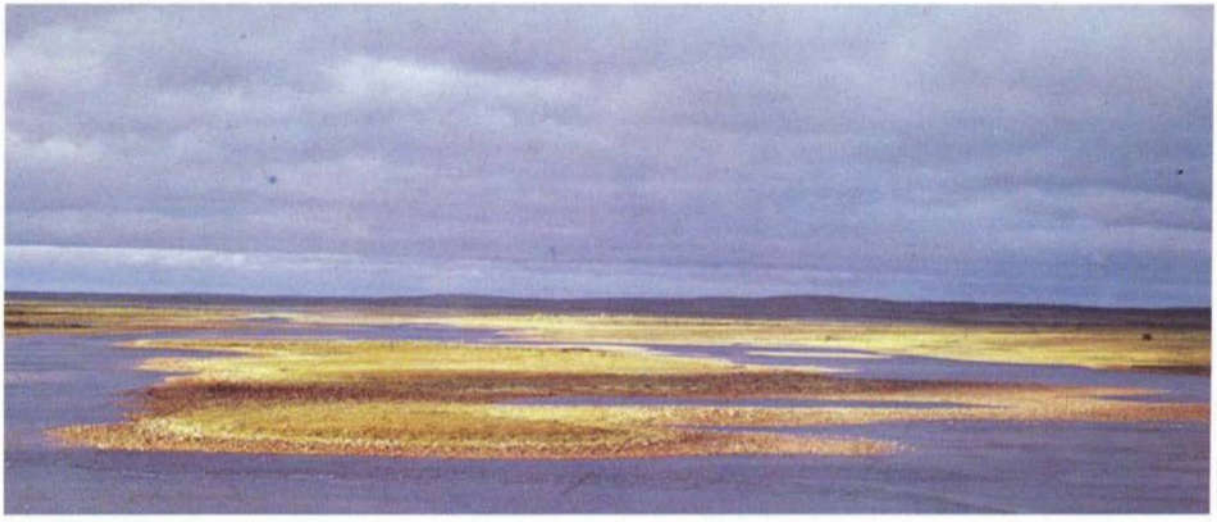
An inukshuk on an island in Thirty Mile Lake on the lower Kazan River.



GEORGE J. LUSTE

ESKIMOS OF THE KAZAN

The north end of Lake Ennadai.



GEORGE J. LUSTE

AUGUST 17 1894 . . . In a short time three men came up the river [Kazan] and one of them named Hallo, made us a map of the river to its mouth. At this camp named Kopanuak, there were three skin tents, and from the women we obtained a couple of pairs of boots, two coats and robe.

Afterwards, accompanied by the three Eskimos in their kayaks, we descended the river for four miles to the tent of a bald old man named Hikuatuak, near which we pitched our camp for the night.

AUGUST 18 Accompanied by our three Eskimo friends, who had asked me if I was the man who had tied a plug of tobacco to an Eskimo sled which I had seen at a cache the year before, and on being told that I was, were exceedingly friendly, we descended the river past two Eskimo camps, to two tents occupied by Hallo, Ahyout and his son Kakkuk, and another whose name I forget.

We camped behind them, but on the advice of Ahyout we pitched our tents up the wind from the others as he said that we should not like the smell from them. He could not speak English, but he was an excellent mimic, and we easily understood his meaning.

AUGUST 19 Yesterday, with the consent of Ahyout his father, I had hired Kakkuk to act as our guide to the mouth of the river and that when we reached there I would give him our Winchester rifle, with twenty-five rounds of ammunition, so this morning after breakfast, we pulled down our tents and loaded our canoes. Then Kakkuk came to us and said that he could not go with us. I immediately went to his tent and called everybody in who I could get. I gave tobacco to the men, sugar to the children, and beads to his wife and the other women except one who would not take them. She was his mother and she did not want him to go. I had a big red bandana cotton handkerchief in my pocket, and I pulled it out, and offered it to her. At first she would not take it, but in a little while she reached out her hand and took it. Then they all began weeping and howling, but I got Kakkuk into his kayak and in a few minutes we were all paddling over the lake, with the other men accompanying us in their kayaks. All gradually dropped back but Ahyout, who stayed with us till noon when we stopped for lunch behind two Eskimo tents.

After lunch he said that he would go with us till night, and that afternoon we were to see several examples of his remarkable ability at handling a kayak. There were many rapids, and he would paddle almost to the brink of them, paddle back, and then guide us down through what he would indicate as the best channel. His kayak seemed to ride on the top of the water, without being caught in it.

At night we camped near two tents of Eskimos who had speared a great number of deer, and had already skinned and cached most of them under heaps of stones,

From 1881 to 1898, J. B. Tyrrell conducted exploratory surveys of the western provinces and the Northwest Territories for the Geological Survey of Canada.

J. B. Tyrrell's first trip across the barren lands of northern Canada in 1893 is well described in 'Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada' by his brother J. W. Tyrrell. During J. B. Tyrrell's expedition in 1894 he met many Eskimo people on the Kazan River. These notes are from his papers deposited with the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto and are published with permission of the University. The notes provide further insight into the character of a remarkable Canadian and his dedication to the work of geological exploration. He accepted the hardships of travel in the barren lands and showed a warm and human interest in its people; the hospitable Eskimos of 80 years ago returned his respect for them.

During 1974, I retraced J. B. Tyrrell's 1894 route from Reindeer Lake to the Kazan River and on through the now-empty barren lands. All that remains of former inhabitation are deserted grave sites, tent rings of lichen-covered stones and sun-bleached caribou bones.

George J. Luste, Professor of Physics,
University of Toronto.

On 18 August 1894, the guides Ahyout and Kakkuk were hired at this camp.

with antlers on top to mark the places of the heaps, as they would project through the snow in winter. The stones would keep away the wolves and most of the wolverines. Though the meat would get almost rotten, it is said to be more easily digestible that way.

This evening we had no difficulty in persuading Ahyout to accompany his son with us to Hudson Bay, all he asked was that we would give him enough tobacco to smoke every day. Afterwards I found that he hid what I gave him to pick up on the way back, and begged smokes from the canoemen. Also he was now far enough away from home that he did not have to discuss his plans with his family.

The Eskimo here were very friendly and invited us to have supper with them on boiled deer tongues. There is a little small black spruce in the vicinity.

AUGUST 20 Mostly over a narrow lake to a camp of three tents containing about 15 people, chief man Nuyellik, where we lunched. From there we obtained several coats and pairs of boots, for which we paid in needles. The women wanted ordinary round needles, not too coarse, with which they could sew waterproof seams. The triangular skin needles were not liked, as the seams sewed with them were said not to be waterproof. As the coats were covered with lice we put them at once into a cotton bag with a plentiful supply of pyrethrum powder before attempting to wear them.

In the afternoon we passed one or two more Eskimo camps, where they had been spearing deer. We camped on a low rocky point, but pretty soon eight men in kayaks came to us and kept us talking until nearly midnight. One of them named Keipniuk, had been five times to trade with white men on the coast.

AUGUST 21 Paddled out into Angikuni Lake. Shortly five kayaks came to meet us, then seven and then three, all the men wanting presents of tobacco. As we crossed the lake we were surrounded by a swarm of 20-30 kayaks, all the men were anxious to see the first white men to descend their river. On the western shore was said to be the village of Outoowiack with 5 tents. We reached the village of Enetah with three tents and as a high east wind was blowing, with a big lake ahead we were obliged to camp among a swarm of inquisitive Eskimos. We bought some boots and a coat chiefly with needles, though our supply was not nearly as large as it should have been. One man, Anuleah came in in the afternoon from a short distance up the river. He says that he goes every winter to Du Brochet Post [Lac du Brochet] to trade, and that all the Eskimos bring their furs to him. He is going as soon as the snow comes, and will take a letter from me . . .

AUGUST 22 On account of the high wind we were only able to travel six knots today, and we were alone with our two Eskimos for the first time. As we were eating lunch a fine big caribou appeared in the distance. Taking my Lee-Metford rifle I fired two shots at him, the first falling short, and the second hitting him. After lunch I went to him, and he was lying dead just where he had fallen when I shot him. I paced the distance to our lunch place at seven hundred (700) yards. From that time onwards both the Eskimos as well as the canoemen thought that there was no limit to the range of that rifle. Ferguson shot the nearer game with the Winchester, while I took the longer shots with the Metford.

I spent a couple of hours with our Eskimos getting the names of things around us. They said that there were no Eskimos on the streams south of here. In winter there are no deer in this vicinity, and the Eskimos live on the deer that they kill and cache in the summer. They all know about my trip down the Dubawnt river the previous summer, and Ahyout introduces me everywhere as

Ahyout (left) and his son Kakkuk stand with the caribou that J. B. Tyrrell shot at 700 yards on 22 August.

the man who went down that river, and left the plug of tobacco on the sled at Wharton Lake.

Ahyout said that he had seen white men four times, at Churchill, Du Brochet, and at two other places further west. He has travelled over all the country from Dubawnt Lake to Churchill. His son, Kakkuk, saw white men when he was a little boy. He then came in the spring overland from Churchill to here . . .

AUGUST 23-24 Windbound on this island. Kakkuk went hunting but could find no deer. Took some photographs around camp, among them the two Eskimos standing on each side of the head of the buck that I had shot at seven hundred yards . . .

AUGUST 25 Paddled seven miles to the end of the lake . . . Then three miles of rapids down to Ungalluk with three large tents containing about 20 people. Here Ahyout wanted to talk and to arrange for crossing the long portage ahead so he kept us about three hours. One of the Eskimos riveted the handle on our frying pan very nicely.

From there taking four more men to help us, we ran down the river about 2 miles to the head of a portage a mile and a half long past three rapids. We got the canoes over, and camped at 10 p.m. at the first of the portages 60 feet above the river. Some of our things were left scattered along the portage covered with tarpaulins, and Ferguson was very much distressed about them.

AUGUST 26 This morning the rest of our things were brought over the portage. Four miles lower down the river we came to Pasamut's camp with seven tents, and 42 people in all. The weather was cold but the children were playing about quite naked. A woman had a baby, and a man had shattered his arm by an accident with his gun. It was mortified up to the elbow and was in a dreadful condition. They asked me to help him but of course I could do nothing.

Pasamut had just been out to Marble Island [Three whaling ships, including the H B C whaler 'Perseverance' were in this area in August 1894] to trade with white men. He drew us a map of the river showing that it emptied into Chesterfield Inlet, but he said that there was another good route to the bay by leaving this river, and portaging eastward into the head of another river which flows into Hudson Bay opposite Sea Horse Island. This would explore an entirely new section of the country and we decided to take it, for my duty was to explore as much of the country as possible and to take back an account of what I had seen and learned.

From this large camp we continued down the river past another small Eskimo camp, to a bare rocky point on which we camped.

AUGUST 27 This morning Ferguson's canoe ran on a rock and broke a hole in it which took us 2½ hours to

Part of 'swarm of 20-30 kayaks' that surrounded Tyrrell on the Kazan River, 21 August 1894.

mend. At lunch time we stopped on a portage over smooth rock in latitude 62° 15' 26".

Four and a half miles below the portage was an Eskimo camp of 4 tents and 27 people, among whom was the oldest Eskimo couple I have seen named Aunah and Otuelik. Both had snow white hair and both were blind, so that they must have been cared for by the others. I asked Aunah how old he was and he said many many winters. We got a fine dog, a snow knife and a pipe from him for which we gave him a pipe of mine and a supply of tobacco. Both old people were very cheerful and we were sorry to bid goodbye to them. We ran down the rapid river eight miles further to camp.

AUGUST 28 Beautiful bright morning, and we ran down the river for ten miles. In one place we saw a grove of tamarack and large scrub black spruce, the finest of the former seen since passing Angikuni Lake and about the last of the spruce on the river. We came through one of the pleasantest sections of country seen on the trip, like a rich rolling prairie. Many caribou were lying and feeding on the grassy bank sloping to the river. They watched our canoes coming down the river and did not move until they got our scent, when they would suddenly jump up, look around, and run away. This change from rest to activity kept abreast of us, as we moved down the stream, and interested us all very much. In the afternoon a heavy storm with rain, and we camped, after travelling about ten miles at a place called Palenah, a famous place for the Eskimo to spear the deer as they cross the stream.

I watched Ahyout spearing deer. He paddled up to them and just as they got their feet on the ground as they approached the shore he speared them, always just over the kidney, between the ribs. They still had life and strength enough to go a little further and fall on the shore where the woman would come and skin them. Very few would fall in the water, and with one exception I never saw a deer that had been speared more than once. It had been speared by a boy who was just learning how to use a spear. At first I could not see when the Eskimo speared the deer, for the rhythmic strokes of the double paddles went on without intermission, but afterward I noticed that his right hand lifted the spear from its place on the kayak in front of him until its shaft rested on his shoulder, and shortly afterwards as he paddled up to the side of the deer he seized the spear again with his right hand, struck the deer and replaced the shaft of the spear on his shoulder and the point on the deck of his kayak in front of him without missing a stroke in the regular movement of the paddle, after which he turned off to one side as his work with that deer was done.

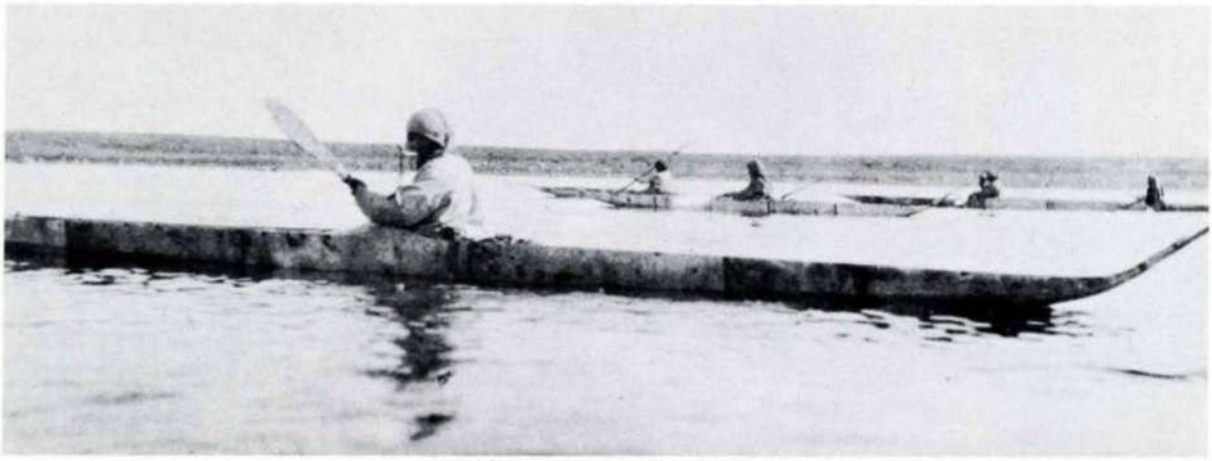
Three Eskimos accompanied us today from the last camp, and when we shot two deer they claimed one of them, perhaps following their law that the animal killed belongs to the man who saw it first rather than to the man who killed it.

AUGUST 29 We ran down about 4 miles to a point on the west side of the mouth of the river where it enters Higalignah or Yathked Lake, but a heavy northwest wind prevented us from going any farther. We put out our meat in the wind to dry, and I distributed boots and mittens to the men. *Andromeda tetragona* [White or Arctic Bell-Heather] seen growing for first time.

AUGUST 30 All day, though the wind was strong from the north west, we paddled over Yathked Lake, near north shore.

AUGUST 31 Still paddling along near the north shore of the lake to the base of a long peninsula across which was a portage 425 paces long into the Kazan river flowing from the lake. From here we descended the river over rapids and a couple of small lakes to an Eskimo camp of 3 topiks and five men, where we camped.

During the day Ahyout, our very efficient but loquacious and temperamental volunteer guide insisted that we must continue down this river to its mouth, that the portages from this river to Kaminuriak Lake were long and very difficult, that it would be impossible to cross the lake, and that the river that flowed from it to the sea was a succession of impossible rapids. But he added that the Eskimos at our camp would give us correct information. At the camp we learned positively that this river flows into Chesterfield Inlet, that it is easy to descend and that there are three Eskimo camps. But there is a route from this river by a series of long portages to another flowing from Kaminuriak lake down which we can descend to the sea.



Kayaks on the Kazan, August 1894.

Ahyout objected very strongly to going that way, but I told him that we were going that way and to go and get men to help us across three long portages. Kakkuk said nothing, but I have no doubt that he thought of the rifle that he would get when we reached the sea and he may have sided with us without our knowing it. Ahyout went off, and came back with word that he had engaged five men to help us over the portages. Thus ended a very anxious day.

SEPTEMBER 1 Three and a half miles farther down the river we ran into a little bay of quiet water on the right, and from it, at a bank of boulders, the portage starts eastward. It is 2050 paces long over wet ground to a little lake drained by a brook northwestward into the Kazan River. At the east end of the portage I took an observation for latitude 63° 7' 48", which was the last that I was able to get for a long time.

Six extra Eskimos worked for us on the portages. Ahyout had hired them for a box of caps and a plug of tobacco each for the whole job, and they were to supply their own food, which they could do without trouble as deer were plentiful.

SEPTEMBER 2 . . . Last night it rained heavily, and today a south east wind drove the rain in our faces making travel very disagreeable. The country is a great flat sedgy plain, with patches of dwarf birch here and there. It is wet everywhere. Five of the Eskimos stood a great stone slab on end at our camp tonight, though all eight of them worked very hard all day, and were delighted when I gave each of them a little piece of tobacco about as big as ones thumb nail . . .

SEPTEMBER 5 Portage 900 paces across very wet flat to the shore of a lake which I called Ferguson Lake after my volunteer assistant, and I also called the river that flowed from it to the sea Ferguson River as a tribute to him for his splendid contribution and assistance to the success of this expedition.

Here I paid off the six Eskimos who had helped us across the portages giving them each a box of 100 caps, a plug and a half of Solace tobacco, two needles and a few beads. All were much pleased. I then hired one of them, Alexamut, to go with us to the bay, and with the two canoes and three kayaks we started eastward on the lake, but we were only able to travel 2½ miles when the wind prevented us from going any farther. We took an inventory of the provisions that we had at that time, consisting of 225 lbs. of food brought with us, 125 lbs. of dried meat and 25 lbs. of deer tallow, also plenty of ammunition . . .

SEPTEMBER 9-10 High winds with rain and snow. We struggled eastward through a long narrow arm of the lake, and then along its south west shore for about three miles when we were obliged to camp. Here Kakkuk shot the fattest caribou that I had ever seen, with 3¼ inches of fat on its back. The fattest one that I had seen before that was one that I shot on an island where the flies had not worried it, and it had a depth of 3 inches of fat on its back. Most of the deer were not fat, for the flies had kept them running into the wind all the time, so that they had little time to rest, or eat the grass quietly.

SEPTEMBER 11-14 First nine miles along the south west shore of Kaminuriak lake to the river, and then down the wild rapid river for three days in constant storm and rain so that it was very difficult for me to keep a survey, and I had not obtained an observation for latitude since the first portage from Kazan river. On the 14th the east wind continued to blow, with a heavy fall of snow and we were obliged to remain in camp which was pitched under the lee of a rocky knoll. About noon Ahyout came into my tent, took off his skin trousers and began beating them with his spear. I stopped him, telling him that white men never beat the insects out of their clothing in their tents, and on that information he stopped quite cheerfully. But apparently the main object

The H B C post at Brochet on Reindeer Lake as it was in 1894, the year of Tyrrell's journey down the Kazan. In the foreground are dog carioles.

of his visit was to tell me that a woman had died about here and her bones were on the hill behind us, that her spirit was angry at the white men going down this river, and that she had caused the storm that had been raging now continuously for two weeks. If I would give him a plug of tobacco he would take it up the hill and give it to her, and tell her that we were only making a map of the country which he understood, and she would understand, and that we are not taking any thing out of the country, and that we would not drive away the deer. When she understood that he thought that she would stop the storm and allow us to travel. I gave him a full sized plug of tobacco to take to her. He at once went up the hill in the face of the storm, and for a long time we heard him shouting a speech of some kind to her. Then he came down and said that he thought that she would let us travel the next day.

SEPTEMBER 15 The east wind blew a gale all night with rain. It blew Ferguson's canoe on the rocks and broke two large holes in it. Shortly after noon we had the canoe repaired, and as the wind went down for a little while we started down the river, and paddled for ten miles in a cold drizzling rain.

SEPTEMBER 16 Sunday. Down the river and across little lakes for about 20 miles. East wind with rain turning to north with snow which was almost impossible to face. Country low hills of boulders, now buried in snow.

SEPTEMBER 17 Very cold with wind so high we were not able to travel, so we had to remain in camp. Temperature in tent 29° F.

SEPTEMBER 18 Down stream ten miles and over a portage 200 paces long past a little fall to the mouth of the river beside a ridge of white quartzite. We passed here on the 25th of September the previous year, so we were a week ahead this year, and a week was a long time at that season of the year in this country. From here we ran down the shore to a high rocky hill where we stopped for lunch, and where we paid off our three Eskimo friends who had guided us very well, though they had annoyed us almost beyond endurance at times. Kakkuk was paid the Winchester rifle and 200 rounds of ammunition. Ahyout, our volunteer guide, 3 lbs of tobacco, a knife, hammer, beads, fishing net, powder and caps.

Alexamut: powder, 10 balls, 3 boxes caps and half a pound of tobacco, and to each some needles and a red cotton handkerchief. All were satisfied and pleased. I also gave Ahyout a letter to be taken out by Anuleah to Mr Des Chambault at Du Brochet, if he found the field glasses that I had lost a few days before.

The circumstances were as follows:

At lunch time one day I climbed a hill in order to make a sketch of the surrounding country, taking my field glasses with me. I put them down beside me, and on leaving forget to take them with me, and I did not miss them till evening when it was much too late to go back for them. I then talked to Ahyout and told him where I had left the field glasses and asked him to pick them up when he was going back up the river, and he at once asked me how much I would pay him for doing it. I asked him how much he wanted, and he said a carrot of tobacco (such as the sailors had at Marble Island. A coarse perique) I explained to him as well as I could that the H. B. C. did not keep that kind of tobacco, but he would get blackstrap instead. He said that he would get it on his way back if a wolverine had not found it, but if a wolverine had found it, it would carry it away and hide it so securely that even he could not find it. All this was agreed to. This would be a severe test of honesty, for telescopes of any kind were a very precious article to these people living on those vast open plains of the north. However a year or two later in Ottawa I got a letter from Mr Des Chambault at Du Brochet with the field glasses which had been delivered to him by Anuleak and an account for three and a half pounds of tobacco.

Quite a wonderful record! ◆

The Uncelebrated Boats of the Albany

BY JOHN A. ALWIN

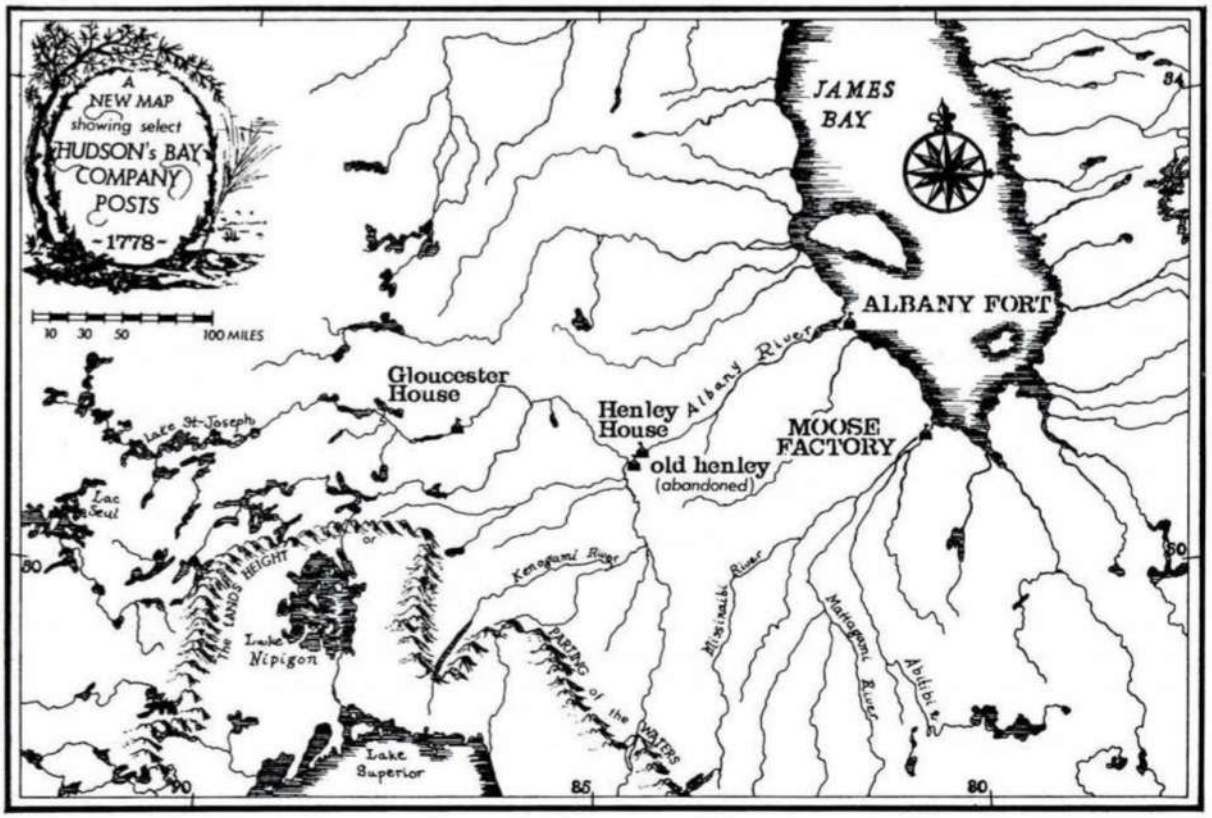
A doctoral student with the Department of Geography at the University of Manitoba, Mr Alwin is researching the H B C transportation system prior to 1821.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to quote from its Archives.

ON 28 MAY 1746 a sole wooden craft arrived at Henley House, 160 water-miles upriver from Albany Fort. Designed and built at Albany, this craft was the Company's first wooden boat to navigate a river within Rupert's Land. In the years that followed, other types of wooden vessels were routinely used both inland from Albany and from other Bayside posts. They eventually became the mainstay of the Company's long-distance inland transportation system, carrying trade to the limits of Rupert's Land and beyond.

The story of transport on the Albany River began with the founding of Henley House. By the early 1740s inundation of Albany's trading hinterland by opposition French traders had already been tolerated for years. This competition, with the French culling the more desirable pelts, had reduced both the quantity and quality of furs traded at Albany. Finally, in the spring of 1743, Albany Chief Joseph Isbister decided that further French encroachment would not go unchallenged. On 6 May of that year, Isbister recorded in his Albany post journal that 'these french fellows is not above 60 mile up this river [Albany River]'. Indians arriving at Albany Fort that spring reported the French traders were operating out of temporary log tents, but planned to return in the fall 'with four large lugage Cannos & build a factory house'. Chief Isbister was convinced a French trading post with such proximity and at so strategic a site would be intolerable. The situation required immediate action, and Isbister decided the only way to counter was for the Company itself to swiftly build its own house at the location. He was certain that if the French were allowed to obtain such a footing they would intercept and force all Bay-bound Indians to trade with them, and foresaw a continued decrease from the present trade of approximately 10,000 Made Beaver annually to 1,000 Made Beaver. Lacking sufficient time to communicate with the London-based headquarters, and certain that an inland outpost was required, Isbister, on his own initiative, sent a young Company servant inland with four Indians to verify the reports of the Indian informants.

The boy Dingley returned ten days later to report he had located the French site, and that the river was 'Navigable for flats & Cannos fine and pleasant with no



MAP BY CAROLINE TROTTIER

A south-east view of Albany Factory from a water-colour by William Richards, c. 1805. The artist was the grandson of William Richards who re-established Henley House in 1766.

land Carring all the way up'. On 3 June 1743, only four days after receiving Dingley's report, Joseph Isbister led a flotilla of canoes upriver to establish an outpost. The group reached the site of the abandoned French log tents on 13 June, but continued on another several miles to a more favourable location at the junction of the Albany and Kenogami Rivers where they erected Henley House, the Company's first inland establishment.

The new post was not to function as a major trading centre, and did not represent a revision of the Company's long-established policy of requiring Indians to travel to the shore of Hudson Bay to trade. A primary function of the outpost was, by its mere presence, to keep the French from settling there, or in the immediate vicinity. It was, as described in a 9 May 1743 letter sent by Isbister to his counterpart at Moose Factory, to serve as 'a garison on ye fruntter'. In addition, the post was designed to function as a showroom for Company wares which could be obtained at Albany. It also served as a rest station for trading Indians travelling to and from Albany, and it soon became customary for Indians to stop and smoke a free pipe of tobacco and, on occasion, to spend the night. Trade at the outpost, carried on in large part to assist Indians enroute to and from the Bay and to help maintain them during winters, was small, ranging from 400 to 1,300 Made Beaver annually until 1755. Guns, powder, shot, cloth, and tobacco were the primary items traded.

Henley's operation, even in its limited capacity, required that its men be adequately provisioned and supplied with goods from the Bay, and that furs traded there be carried down to Albany. Now, after having left the difficult problem of inland transportation to the Indians for seventy years, the Company was forced to develop its transport line inland.

Small Indian-built birch-bark canoes were logically the first craft used on the water road in from Albany. But after having travelled up the Albany River with his men to establish Henley, Isbister concluded that Company servants were 'intirly Unhandy in Cannoes'. The distance from Albany to Henley was too great for the Englishmen, considering their ineptness in handling canoes, their advanced age, and their inability to provide for themselves while inland. Despite these problems, an outpost at this site was seen as essential to preserving Albany's trade, and a regular carriage had to be established to support it.

If communication with his new outpost was to be by canoe, it was obvious to Isbister that the standard small variety of canoe with its limited cargo capacity would be inadequate for freighting purposes. Within two weeks of the post's establishment, he had a 'Great' canoe specially built by Indians in exchange for a gallon of brandy. This canoe performed well that spring, and by fall Isbister arranged to have another built, again for a gallon of brandy. Other canoes reported to have been twenty-four to twenty-eight feet long and four feet wide were subsequently added to the service. These could carry a heavy cargo and still only draw eight inches of water.

Transport problems were not solved by merely using larger canoes. Company servants were not eager to travel inland and on occasion refused such service; some men were returned to England for refusing to work on the Henley route. Despite their obvious lack of enthusiasm

for inland service and their reported lack of skill in handling canoes, Company servants did as early as 1744, operate canoes for most of the Henley journey, with only occasional Indian assistance. In September of that year, seven Company men and two Indians departed for Henley in three canoes. This would have required that at least one canoe was paddled solely by Company servants. A primary job of the two Indians was probably steering the canoes through areas of rapid water. This was the case the next summer when seven Englishmen in three canoes departed for Henley accompanied by two Indians 'to Steer their Cannoes and mend them if required'.

Joseph Isbister complained in his Albany post journal on 16 September 1745, of the constant necessity of having to replace the delicate birch canoes which were 'Spoiled and broake' after only one trip owing to the servants' 'Unskillfullness', and indicated he would attempt to build a boat 'to draw as little watter as a Canno and Carie more goods so that our men may learn to manage them'. A desire to eliminate dependence on the Indians for canoes and assistance on the Henley route was an additional factor favouring the adoption of boats.

Few specifics on the construction of this craft, the Company's first inland boat, were recorded. Work began on 20 September when men were sent to the woods adjacent to Albany to gather 'Crocked timber' for the boat. The next day the carpenters were busily employed preparing timber and planing boards. The bottom was nailed together on 27 September. Three days later additional timber was required and ten men were dispatched to the woods with a cart, which Isbister also took credit for designing. Work on the vessel continued into October. Half-inch board was sawed for its sides on 10 October and by 26 October the craft was finished except for caulking, which was postponed until spring. During its construction and for the next several years, the vessel was referred to as the 'flatt', 'flatt bottom barge', 'flatt bottom boat', 'flat boat', 'barge', or simply, the 'boat'. The more revealing of these terms, and the reference during its construction to sides and bottom as distinct sections, suggest that this elementary craft lacked the more intricate building details of the later York boat. Yet, like its illustrious successor, this earliest of inland boats proved more durable than canoes, required less manpower in proportion to amount of cargo carried, and was more readily handled by Company servants.

On 14 May 1746 the vessel, with a crew of five and a cargo of goods and provisions, left Albany on its maiden passage upriver. The voyage to Henley took fifteen days and the return three days. Although undoubtedly delighted with the safe arrival of his barge back at Albany on 31 May, Isbister succinctly recorded in his post journal 'ye boat did Verry well for the Voyage'. Five days later he sent the barge on a second trip to Henley and again it performed well, cutting the upriver trip to thirteen days and equalling the three-day return.

Despite the fact that canoes were ultimately used that fall when shallow water forced the abandonment of the barge Joseph Isbister was satisfied with his new mode of conveyance and had another barge built at Albany that winter. The use of crooked timber in the building of the first barge may suggest it had some curved lines. This was definitely the case with the second barge. Noting the difficulty his men were having bending plank with an open fire, the governor instructed that a lead soaking-

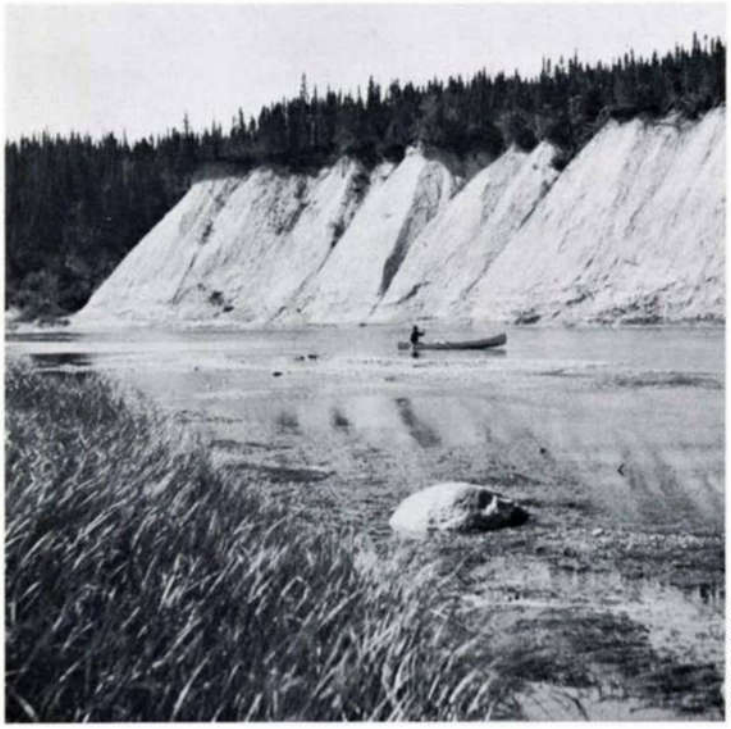
For two hundred years birch-bark canoes carried the Company's inland freight on the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. This photograph was taken in the James Bay district in 1913.

J. W. ANDERSON

trough be built in which boards could first be boiled. Constructed of one-inch poplar plank and painted, the second barge measured 23 feet long by 6 feet 4 inches wide. Both barges were used on the Henley route the next spring. In subsequent references the two craft were identified as the small and the large barge; the larger required a minimum crew of six, and the smaller, five. It appears that the second barge was the larger of the two. A third barge, built of both poplar and pine-root timber, was constructed during the spring and fall of 1748. These same craft also began to be referred to as 'Henley Boats' or 'Henley Barges' when George Spence temporarily replaced Joseph Isbister as commander at Albany between 1748 and 1753.

Rudder-equipped, these boats were propelled by oars and setting poles or, if necessary, were tracked. They were also outfitted with sails which were frequently used on the broad and gentle lower reach of the Albany River. Now the standard mode for supplying Henley, these boats usually made one or two round trips each spring, and one additional trip in the fall after the arrival of the ship from England. The first spring trip, usually by two boats, departed Albany in mid to late May, after the river was clear of ice. If required, one or two boats made a second trip. Spring runs carried the bulk of Henley's supply of trade goods and provisions up to the outpost, and conveyed its fur returns down to Albany. With the high water-levels on the Albany River at this season of the year, boat communication was possible every spring from the initial trip in 1746 to the last spring run prior to the 1755 abandonment of Henley House. These trips became routine and in four consecutive years during the early 1750s, departure and arrival dates at Albany did not vary more than four days. In the spring of 1753 the round-trip travel time from Albany to Henley was cut to eleven days, including a one-day layover at Henley.

The Albany River 'peppered with great boulders – thousands of them' as it was in the summer of 1923.



JAMES A. GREEN

As experienced in 1746 on the first attempt to get to Henley in the fall, low water-levels made boat communication more uncertain. Still it became standard procedure to make at least one attempt each fall although these trips, usually made by a single boat, were not as critical to Albany's inland commerce. Their primary function was to convey the Master of Henley to his winter station and to lodge a small cargo of goods at the outpost.

The main obstacle to river navigation was the Great Falls about twelve miles upriver from Albany Fort. In the spring of the year when water-levels were high, it was generally possible to avoid the falls by detouring around them via a small parallel channel of the river. This passage was usually only a trickle in the fall and boats had to pass directly up the main channel of the Albany River. On these journeys the crew was increased by several men, and extra hands were sent to assist the boat over the falls. When it proved impossible to communicate with Henley by boat, the Company was reluctantly forced to rely on the less-efficient canoes.

The problems of fall communication with Henley were soon overshadowed by events at the post itself. In the spring of 1755, Indians, disgruntled with what they felt were unnecessary restrictions of their access to the post, attacked Henley, killing the men and ransacking the post. Even though Joseph Isbister was eager to see his outpost resettled and had platforms for gun-carriages mounted on the boats that summer in preparation for travelling inland, no immediate action was taken. Not until the spring of 1759, at the height of the Seven Years' War, did fifteen Company men and two Indians finally reach the site to begin rebuilding the post. During the summer a 'Square House' was built, but on 17 September 1759, a combined force of Indians and French overran the post, killing the carpenter, wounding another man, and bringing work to a halt.

The need for Henley diminished with the eventual defeat of the French in this war and their withdrawal from their western trading posts. The post was not promptly resettled.

The void left by the retreat of the French was soon filled by a new breed of Montreal trader referred to by H B C men as the 'Pedlars', because they, like the French before them, took the trade to the Indians. With competition renewed inland, the services of Henley House once again became essential, and the post was finally re-established in the summer of 1766. The reluctance of Company servants to go inland and low water-levels had

thwarted earlier attempts. Although William Richards, the officer in charge of the founding mission, had been instructed to go 'as high as Henley, or as much higher as Possible', he chose an island site five miles downriver from old Henley House for the new outpost. An insular location, he felt, would afford a good view both up and down the river, important for a post which had been twice destroyed by the surprise attack of enemies.

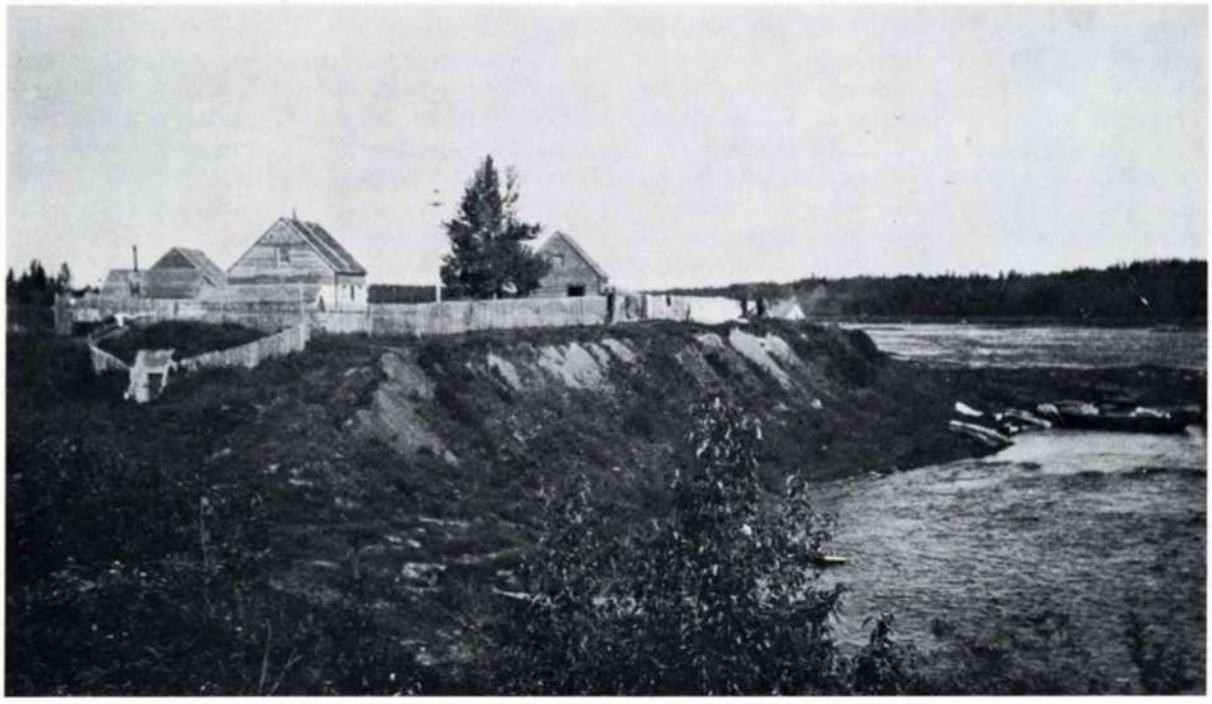
With service restored on the Henley route, boats again became the standard mode of conveyance. Henley boats by this time were referred to individually by name: *Prince of Wales, Committee,* and *King George.* This practice clearly suggests that these craft were now recognized as permanent features of Albany's inland service.

New Henley, like the older, was not to be a regular place of trade. This was made clear in the summer of 1766 when William Richards, then Master of Henley House, wrote to Humphrey Marten, Chief at Albany requesting trading goods in greater quantity and variety for his outpost. Responding to this request Marten wrote: '. . . in regard of Trading Goods, You Know it is their Honors Possitive Orders, not to Supply You with a Generall Assortment of Goods, but only to send such articles as Guns, Powder, Shot, Flints, & a small Quantity of Brandy'. The Master at Henley was instructed to inform the Indians that the post had been resettled 'out of Love to them, to keep them from Starving, and to Assist them in their Passage up and Down the river, and also in the Winter'. Indians were to be told that the difficult passage for boats made it impossible for the Company to make Henley a place of trade. At the time it was a formidable task to provision the post's small complement of eight men and to stock it with even its limited amount and variety of trading goods. Marten felt that if Henley were made a regular place of trade twelve large boats would be needed to provision it, and each one would have to make three round trips annually. With such a fleet and the required men, he still doubted that it would be possible to supply Henley with enough goods to sustain an annual 8,000 skin trade, even if Henley House were self-sufficient in foodstuffs.

The difficulty of the fall trip to Henley still plagued transport on the water road in from Albany. Twenty-three men, making the attempt every day for a number of days, were not able to get even an empty boat over the Great Falls on the trip up to Henley in the fall of 1768. Four canoes were eventually used to deposit a small supply of essentials at the outpost. Three years later on a return fall trip from Henley, the boat was stopped 100 miles upriver from Albany where the river became so shoal that a man could cross it 'dry foot'.

Transport and trade on the Albany River acquired new significance in the mid and late 1770s. In 1774 the establishment of Cumberland House, the Company's first true trading post in the interior, ushered in a new phase of Company history. The century-old policy of requiring the Indians to travel to the Company's tide-water posts was abandoned in favour of a more aggressive policy of inland expansion designed to carry trade

Martin Falls, one of the navigational hazards on the Albany, from a 1905 photograph in the Ontario Archives.



ONTARIO ARCHIVES

The early 'flatt bottom boat' lacked the more intricate building details of the later York boats, shown here on the Albany River, 1905.

to the Indians. Consistent with this policy, the Governor and Committee, in their official correspondence of 11 May 1774, instructed the Chief at Albany to consider the expediency of extending trade to Henley House and further inland. The next year when its previous trading ceiling of ten Made Beaver per Indian was lifted, and unlimited trading was permitted, Henley became the Company's second genuine inland trading post. To carry out its Henley initiative the London Committee more than doubled the complement of men at the outpost from eight to twenty, and assured the Chief at Albany that a larger supply of trading goods and provisions would be furnished. As an inducement to many of the Indians to continue carrying their furs down to the Bay and thereby 'lessen the quantity of Trading Goods, which is convey'd with so much difficulty to Henley', the outpost was to trade at a higher standard than its parent post of Albany. Henley was also forbidden to designate and clothe its own Indian lieutenants and captains. Only a select number of Indians who regularly led parties to trade at a particular post were granted such honorary titles and the associated fancy dress, special treatment, and favours. Since designation of leaders was essential to maintaining a large and regular trade at a post, the decision to bar their use at Henley was another obvious attempt to limit the trade and thereby further lessen the load of inland carriage required.

Henley House was now designated as operations centre for inland exploration and expansion. From this forward outpost, five or six men were to regularly travel and explore the country and to persuade Indians to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. Lake St. Anns (Lake Nipigon) was singled out as one particular area to be explored, but men were also directed to range much more widely: to Lake Superior, Michilimackinac, and even Montreal. Clearly the explorative element of these excursions was preparatory to expansion of transport and trade. Men travelling in from Henley were to 'Search the Rivers, & Lakes, & Observe their Connections, Source, Course, Dept, & other particulars and take a Plan of them as exact as possible'. Since rivers and lakes were the roadways of the trade, such ventures were to provide the maps necessary for a continued advance of Company trade.

The increased interaction between Albany and Henley, to convey up the larger indent of trading goods and provisions and to carry down the larger fur returns, required more boats. In the fall and winter of 1775, the Master at Henley was instructed to send to Albany birch crooks and keels needed for the building of new boats. The expanded program of boat building and repair at Albany Fort that winter required the erection of a kiln for steaming the boards and planks.

With a clear mandate for expansion inland, an immediate attempt was made to see how far above Henley boats could navigate. When the Master at Henley reported the disappointing news that 'tis impossible to get a loaded or a half loaded boat, more than 9 miles above Old Henley', Thomas Hutchins, Chief at Albany instructed him to try canoes. The Chief had not, however, abandoned the hope of using boats on the river above Henley, and the next spring sent up the *Experiment,* a specially built craft which was smaller than the standard Henley Boat, for possible future use.

The year 1777 was an important one for Albany's inland theatre. That spring John Kipling led a canoe party 230 miles up the Albany River above Henley to establish the forward outpost of Gloucester House. The

Albany Chief was particularly eager to push inland at this time. Reports indicated that the War of American Independence had caused Great Britain to cut off commerce with the colonies, and Montreal traders had therefore not sent their normal shipment of goods inland. In order to 'avail themselves of this Opportunity' servants were to immediately proceed further into the interior and occupy Pedlar sites. It was hoped that a number of inland posts could be established and these possible locations included posts on Woody Lake (Lake of the Woods), Rainy Lake, and Lake Winnipeg. At this time these favoured sites were beyond the range of Albany's inland transportation system. As events would soon show, Gloucester House itself was beyond the transport capabilities for the first years of its operation.

The same year, 1777, Henley House was raised one more notch towards the status of a full-fledged trading post when permitted to trade on the Albany standard. The outpost still was not allowed to designate Indian leaders. The Committee in London had evidently decided that the transport line between Henley and Albany could now handle an increased flow, but was not yet ready to accommodate all Bay-bound Indians passing Henley.

With inland transport now assuming a more important role, the London Committee, in 1777, introduced a gratuity system for service inland from Albany. Retroactive to the year ending in August 1776, each man who travelled to Henley or further inland was to receive a gratuity of 40 shillings annually. The average annual salary of labourers was £8. The following year the system was modified to allow each man 10 shillings for every return journey from Albany to Henley House and 40 shillings for travel beyond Henley House.

While Henley was advanced to a standard of trade equal to Albany's, Gloucester House was to retain the older, more stringent standard. Transport above Henley was still precarious at this time and could not handle the volume of cargo which would have resulted from a more liberal standard of trade. The difficulties of provisioning the outpost were evident in its first year of operation. After having made do with inadequate provisions since the founding of the post and, on occasion, having been compelled to consume the inside rind of aspen, John Kipling and his three men were finally forced to temporarily withdraw from Gloucester on 28 November 1777. Twelve days later they arrived at Henley House 'Almost Dead for the Want of Victuals'.

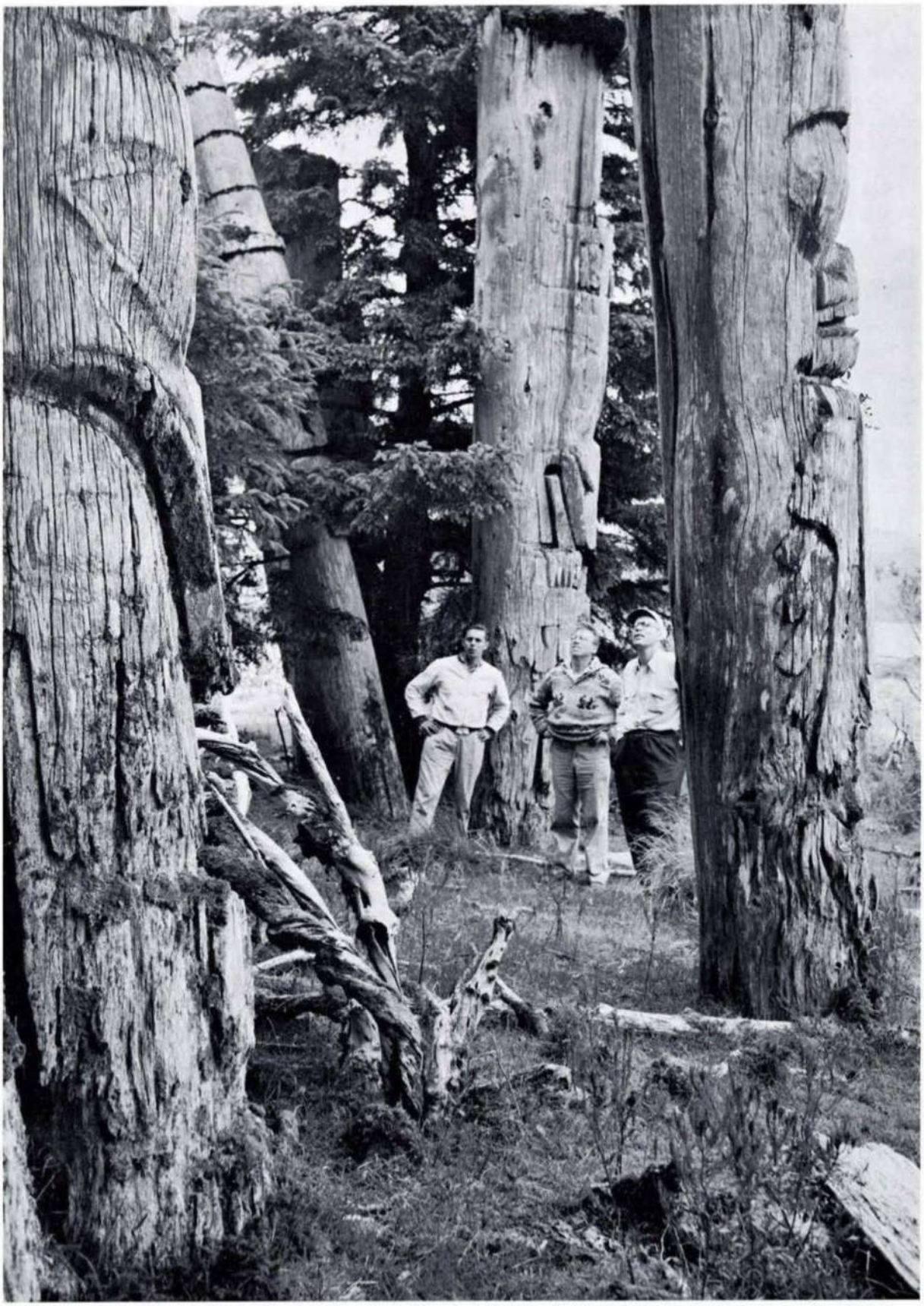
In May 1779 when trading Indians began arriving at Gloucester House, necessary goods were not in stock. The number of Indians awaiting the arrival of the trade items from Albany soon swelled, crowded the post, and prevented Company employees from holding their normal Sunday services. When goods finally arrived on 1 July some Indians had been waiting thirty days, while others had evidently given up and left. That spring, the *Experiment* had been used on the Henley to Gloucester trip, but failed to reach Gloucester. The boat was abandoned enroute, and canoes were used to ferry its cargo the remaining distance.

Fur returns at Gloucester House increased from 302 Made Beaver in its first year of operation to over 2,300 for the 1779-80 season. The latter figure did not even include Gloucester's share of a total of 2,055 Made Beaver left at Albany's two interior posts that year because of shoal water and lack of provisions. This inability to convey all returns down to Albany, the failure of the *Experiment* to reach Gloucester, and the reliance on fragile canoes of generally inadequate size all pointed to the need for swift solutions if the present trade was to be retained and extended.

In 1780, bateaux were first used on the Albany River. In the years that followed, these shallow draft vessels revolutionized Albany's inland transportation system. Although the bateaux eventually carried Albany's grand incursion into the eastern corner of the Canadian prairies, it was the earlier boats, dating back to the 1740s which first proved the feasibility of using wooden craft inland from the Bay. While the French still occupied their posts in the western fur forest, these vessels regularly plied the lower reach of the Albany River. Thus, more than 40 years before the earliest use of boats inland from York Factory in the 1780s and 1790s, Albany Fort's inland transport was served by these, the uncelebrated boats of the Albany River. ◆

One of the Company's birch-bark canoes is patched at Big Sandy Lake during a tour of the posts in northern Ontario, 1905.

ONTARIO ARCHIVES



Anthropologist Wilson Duff of the Provincial Museum in Victoria, B.C., left, with Dr H. B. Hawthorne of the University of British Columbia, and Bill Reid, surveys the totems of Ninstints on arrival at Anthony Island in the summer of 1957.

HAIDA TOTEMS

A Salvage Operation

By John and Carolyn Smyly

IN THE SUMMER OF 1975, the new ethnology display area of the Provincial Museum in Victoria will be opened to the public. Almost 20,000 square feet of exhibition area has been assigned to the display of the art and artifacts of the several tribes of British Columbian Indians. A central area is devoted to that most dramatic of all Indian works, the totem pole.

Totem poles represent a formidable set of problems, both in their collection and in their eventual display. At the turn of the century, when the totem pole villages of British Columbia were largely abandoned and there was the opportunity for purchasing any number of fine poles in magnificent condition, there was little knowledge of or interest in them. Despite the pleas of a few pioneer anthropologists, there were never funds available to make such a collection possible. Chiefly through the interest of Dr C. F. Newcombe of Victoria, the Provincial Museum was able to acquire several of the larger poles, some of which were stored in warehouses around Victoria for almost 75 years. These were collected before their exposure to the elements had done much more than bleach out the original colours, and the wood itself was still in sound condition. Years of storage have not marred the carvings; their lines remain crisp and sharp.

The poles left in the villages were soaked by innumerable rains, dried and cracked by the winds, bored by insects and torn apart by the roots of sapling trees; they began one by one to fall, to be blanketed in moss and a layer of pine needles, to rot, to disappear. By the 1930s, the museum in Prince Rupert had made an attempt to salvage some of the remaining poles, but no one seemed to have thought that a complete and scientific record of every remaining pole warranted the necessary expense.

By the 1950s, when interest in North American Indian art was once again on the upswing, the poles remaining in the totem-pole villages were in sad condition. One rescue expedition to Skedans and Tanu on the Queen Charlotte Islands was financed, and succeeded in gleaning the last of the salvable poles. Wilson Duff, then anthropologist at the Provincial Museum, yearned to visit Anthony Island at the southern tip of the Queen Charlotte group. There, in the abandoned Haida village of Ninstints, stood what he later described as the 'best and richest source' of totem poles.

Anthony Island is almost inaccessible, even during the summer months. There is no permanent human settlement of any size within 150 miles. The coastline is broken and rocky, open to winds off the Pacific Ocean. There is no harbour where a vessel any larger than a row-boat can shelter close to the island. Collecting totem poles is not like collecting sea shells or white-footed mice. Some of the poles are almost fifty feet in height. They weigh tons. Unlike the metal and concrete sculptures which are swung about by art galleries with apparent ease, the totem poles are incredibly fragile in comparison to their enormous size. Exposed for years to the relentless grind of wind and rain, they have become soft, porous, and crumbling.

In 1957 probably the last totem pole rescue operation of all time was undertaken. The Provincial Museum in Victoria, and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, were equally concerned with the destruction by natural forces and by the occasional vandalism of the remaining monuments. Neither institution was funded to undertake a rescue operation but the determination of several individuals eventually resulted in a co-operative venture between the two institutions, an anonymous private benefactor, and the Canadian navy.

In October 1956, with the assistance of the H.M.C.S. *Brockville*, members from the museum paid a brief visit to Anthony Island, primarily to examine the totems and to obtain the information necessary for salvage work. Travelling late in the year, heavy weather was a certainty and they encountered gales of up to eighty miles an hour. The wind moderated enough to allow two brief landings upon the rocky little island.

Having obtained information on the number and condition of the totem poles left in Ninstints, Wilson Duff flew to Skidegate in April 1957, to confer with the Band Council over the proposed salvage. Each pole was still the property of the descendants of the person for whom it was carved and, after seventy years, ownership often posed an elaborate geneological problem. It was necessary to obtain both the owner's permission and the permission of the Band Council as a whole before salvage operations could be undertaken.

The Skidegate Band Council agreed to allow a salvage expedition to go to Ninstints. The totem poles were to be brought out for storage at Victoria and the University of British Columbia. That summer the expedition members, together with a C.B.C. television crew and a provincial government photographer travelled south from Skide-

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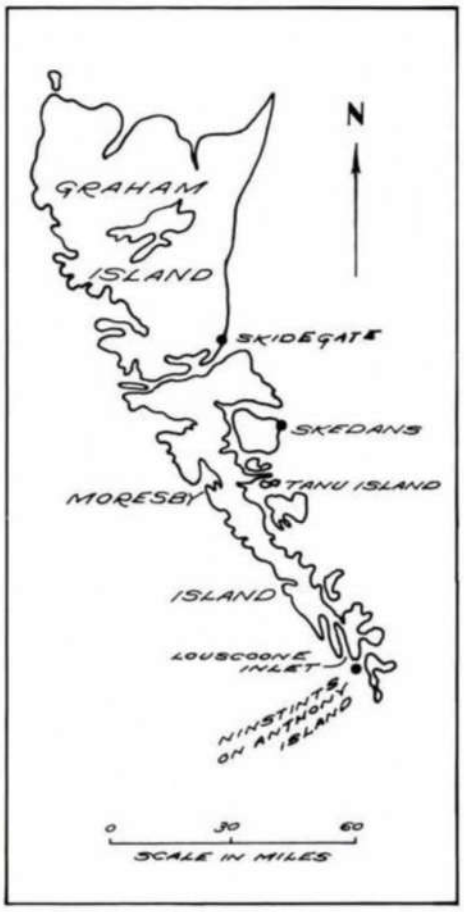
John Smyly of the Provincial Museum, Victoria was a member of the salvage expedition to Ninstints.

Carolyn Smyly is former Curator of History at the Museum. Photos by Mr Smyly are published with permission of the B.C. Government.

An inside house post 14 feet in height was the first to be cut and lowered to the ground.

Waiting for a break in the rain are Wilson Duff (left), Dr H.B. Hawthorne, Bill Reid and C B C photographer Kelly Duncan.



gate with the three-man native crew of the chartered fishing vessel *Seiner II*. The naval auxiliary vessel *Laymore* was appointed to meet the crew at Louscoone Inlet later on to pick up the crated poles.

On Thursday, 20 June, the seiner anchored off the eastern side of Anthony Island, near the entrance to Ninstints cove. A rocky, brush-covered islet sat right in the middle of the cove. Behind the islet, and tucked around the rim of the cove was the totem-pole village of Ninstints, decimated by war and disease in the nineteenth century and abandoned almost a century ago.

The channel on the north side of the islet was not navigable, even when high tide filled the cove with water; it was entirely blocked with huge boulders. When the tide receded, the cove emptied and uncovered rocks in the south channel as well. All journeys to and from the seiner with camp gear and crating materials were made in a skiff and a row-boat, at favourable tides, and even then caution had to be employed to navigate the double hazard of rocks and thick kelp beds.

Circling the cove in a long irregular line with only a grassy border separating them from the beach, stood the largest remaining group of carved poles anywhere in the world – more than thirty in number. Most of them were the stubby mortuaries, usually about twenty feet high, which were designed to hold grave boxes in a hollowed cavity at the top. Some of these mortuaries were partly burnt as the result of a brush fire that had destroyed part of the village before 1900. Two tall memorials stood at the south end of the village, and two

house frontal poles stood to the north. All poles were weathered to a silver-grey and were in varying stages of decay. At all other abandoned villages, standing totems could be counted on two hands. The sheltered eastern-facing bay of Ninstints had undoubtedly contributed to this remarkable survival.

On that first day of arrival at Ninstints, a campsite was established, the supplies unloaded from the seiner and a preliminary photographic record of the village site made before nightfall. The next morning the heavy work and the famous Queen Charlotte Islands rains began together.

The cutting and lowering of the poles soon achieved a kind of pattern. An inside housepost which had originally been erected in a position of honour inside a plank house some 40 feet square, still stood with the house framework in ruins around it. The pole was roped securely to nearby trees to keep it from falling, and the column was cut through at the base. When it was gently lowered, face down, everyone heaved and pushed to turn it over onto supports until it could be crated.

A tall house frontal pole was next. This once stood against the outside front wall of a dwelling, and a doorway had been cut through the base to allow entrance into the house. There were four major carvings and many minor figures on the pole; a bed of spruce boughs was prepared to prevent damage to the carvings when the column was lowered to the ground. Added to the general difficulties was the fact that the huge poles had to be sawn through by hand. A power-saw which had been included as part of the essential equipment had gotten damp on its journey and could not be made to function. Fortunately, someone had added a cross-cut saw to the inventory of tools and that was made to serve.

The house frontal pole was 48 feet 7 inches high. It had to be sawn into three sections for crating, because of its enormous size and weight. No one enjoyed dividing it and every care was taken that the cuts came between carved sections.

The days that followed were punctuated by heavy downpours that flooded out the camp tents at one point and forced the seiner to remove to a more sheltered location. During this time the crew succeeded in lowering and crating sixteen sections of totem poles. The most difficult was the mortuary of Chief Kanskinai. It had been carved from a log almost four feet through at the wider end, and bore the design of a grizzly bear and a small whale. The top portion of the column surrounding the grave-box cavity had to be cut off to do away with

A view of the Ninstints beach as the crated totem poles were towed away to be loaded on the 'Laymore'.

excessive weight even though this meant sacrificing a relief carving of the whale's dorsal fin on each side at the top. Like all the poles, the mortuary was soaking wet and a tangle of roots grew all through it. The cross-cut saw, which was none too sharp to begin with, would either snag upon these roots or the cut would close, jamming the saw. Then wedges were driven in or pieces were chopped away with the axe so that sawing could continue. The original measurements of the pole were 20 feet 3 inches long, by 4 feet in diameter. Its weight was estimated at about two and a half tons. Even with 5 feet cut off the top, all of the crew shoving together could not budge it.

The weight of the mortuary column of Chief Kanskinai was estimated at two and a half tons. The top portion surrounding the grave box was cut away before it was pulled, inch by inch, to the beach where the poles were crated for transfer to Victoria.

Blocks and tackle from the seiner's rigging were brought into use. A sled was constructed and a track of driftwood was laid down to the beach. Small round logs were gathered to be used as rollers. With ropes snubbed around each end and padded to keep them from cutting into the carving, the column was rolled over onto the improvised sled. It inched over, an enormous dead weight, and finally flopped with a crash onto its cradle, breaking some of the sled's cross-pieces in the process. For a tense moment it seemed that its momentum would carry it off the other side, but it settled back into place.

The tackle was then dragged down to the beach, one end fastened to the huge mortuary, the other end tied to rocks projecting from the small island in the cove. The pole was then pulled, inch by desperate inch, down to the beach. It was a two-hour struggle and then it began to rain. As soon as everyone stopped to suit up in rain gear, the rain would stop and the sun would reappear. When the crew became uncomfortably warm and discarded their outer clothing, it would rain again.

Because of the great weight of the pole, crating it brought a new set of problems. With the other poles, crates had been constructed around three sides and then the pole and crate were turned together to allow the fourth side of the crate to be nailed into place. With Chief Kanskinai's pole, however, it was decided that the best approach would be to crate it on the beach below the tide level so that when the water surrounded the pole and floated it, it could be turned over in the water, secured by ropes to the beach and then finished when the tide receded once again. All went according to plan. The crate was turned and the fourth side nailed into place at low tide. Then the crate was tied to logs higher up the beach. Unfortunately, the ropes worked loose one night when the wind and rain set up a light chop in the tiny bay, and the following morning the crew woke to find their precious crate adrift and knocking hard against the rocks in the wilder water at the mouth of the bay. A long-suffering crew member, already soaked to the skin by the night-long downpour, was sent to fasten a rope around the crate and to secure it to rocks so that it would not wash out to sea. When the weather settled down, it was pulled back to the beach.

As the days passed, all the salvaged sections were crated and dragged to the beach. On the evening of 28 June, the crated totems were pushed down on the beach to await the incoming tide. Part of the crew stayed up half the night and at high tide, by the light of lanterns and using the rowboat, they secured all the crates together, then anchored them with ropes to the beach. The following day a message came in from the *Laymore* and the camp was dismantled. The seiner was loaded once again, and the crated totems were strung out in a long line and brought out from the cove to be fastened to the stern of the seiner. A rendezvous had been set up with the *Laymore* at Louscoone Inlet and with several

This Haida watchman figure topped a fallen pole. Hanging face down and undamaged over a bank, it survived some of the ravages of weather.

nostalgic backward glances, the crew turned to the final stages of the expedition.

At 5:00 a.m. on 30 June, the two vessels met in Louscoone Inlet and the long line of crates was drawn alongside the naval vessel and lifted aboard. A cable was passed around the centre of each crate and it was carefully winched upwards. The crated poles were piled on the deck and roped down. The seiner returned to its base at Skidegate, and the *Laymore* continued south down the west coast of Vancouver Island to Victoria. Some poles were to be unloaded in Victoria, and the remainder were to continue on to Vancouver in the sharing arrangement agreed upon by the Museum and the University of British Columbia.

Even this routine trip south was not entirely without incident. Part way across Queen Charlotte Sound the sea became rough. The ship tossed this way and that and the crew, warmly housed below deck, became aware of an ominous scraping sound overhead. They rushed on deck to find that the whole cargo of totem poles had shifted four feet to starboard, crushing a couple of the crates. If it had not been for the guard-rails, all of the crates would have gone into the sea. Crew members rushed to lash a few more steel cables around the crates and to put a brace or two in where it would do the most good. Captain John François expressed confidence that even if the crates had gone overboard, they would not have sunk and could have been recovered, but museum personnel were thankful that they were not called upon to witness the exercise.

The rest of the trip went smoothly. The poles destined for the Provincial Museum were unloaded in Esquimalt harbour and transported by truck to the museum storage warehouse in the basement of a government building. There they dried out slowly over a period of several months. By the time they were moved yet again to the basement of the new Provincial Museum complex in Heritage Court, they had undergone careful inspection and treatment to kill any remaining wood borers. Badly rotted portions were repaired or replaced with new wood carefully aged to match in colour and texture the original surface. Sections that were to be displayed had individually designed and built supports which would not weaken the pole but would ensure that it remained erect even during an earthquake. Of the poles salvaged from Ninstints, three are presently on display at the Provincial Museum, with another included in the preliminary plans for the new ethnology gallery.

While this account has dealt primarily with one rather hazardous expedition to collect Haida poles, a similar tale could be told of the poles acquired from the Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Kwakiutl and Salish villages. Confronted with these huge carvings now safely housed in carefully controlled conditions, few visitors will have any idea of the labour, expense, and careful planning that culminated in the dramatic display.

There will be some who doubt that the poles warrant the expense, though such individuals grow fewer as Indian art is better understood; there will be others who will resent the fact that the poles were ever removed from their native villages. But for the great majority of visitors, the more than a million persons who enter the Provincial Museum each year, the experience in three-dimensional reality of the astounding heritage left to the world by the Indian peoples of British Columbia will be one that they will not easily forget. ◆

The 'Laymore' with her cargo of totem poles arrives at HMC dockyard, Esquimalt, Victoria.

NORTHERN BOOKS

FIELD GUIDE TO EDIBLE WILD PLANTS

By Bradford Angier, Stackpole Books, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1974. Illustrations by Arthur J. Anderson. 256 pages, $9.95.

Reviewed by R. R. Tasker, M.D.

In this attractive volume the author has selected about 116 plants of culinary interest to be found growing wild across Canada and the United States; upon each he has assembled a thumb-nail sketch. Heading the account on each entry are listed common names in general use, followed by a brief description in non-botanical terms so as to facilitate recognition in the field by a layman. This is followed by a brief note upon range. The entry of interest, however, entitled 'edibility' includes for each plant a summary of information concerning its utilization for food by man and animals, together with a brief description of means of preparation. The inclusion of the strawberry amongst his selection of plants is obvious, except that a description of the preparation of strawberry-leaf tea is also included.

Many of his accounts will be less familiar and could add new dimensions to one's appreciation of outdoor living: bunchberry sauce, saxifrage 'lettuce', roasted yellow water-lily root, though his inclusion of Bracken Fiddleheads will raise questions with the recent notoriety linking this species with carcinogenesis.

The attractiveness of the format and its usefulness as a guide is greatly dependent on A. J. Anderson's lovely water-colour illustrations. The weakness, inherent in such a limited work, is its organization. The alphabetical listing of species by the author's chosen common name leads to an unfortunate order in the text: different species within the same genus and different members of the same family, not to mention unrelated look-a-likes, are widely separated from one another.

The botanical treatment may also confuse. Some illustrations are unlabelled, some identified by common name only, while others are given both Linnaean nomenclature and a common name. The accompanying descriptions sometimes refer to a variety of related species, some of which differ superficially in the layman's eyes from the illustrated relative, introducing obvious difficulties in the identification of species suitable for food.

Nonetheless this is a pleasing inexpensive addition to the library of the outdoorsman desirous of gastronomic experiment or to the individual looking for a background summary of survival information, as well as to those of us interested in customs of our native people.

R. R. Tasker, M.D., a Toronto neurosurgeon, has been an ardent naturalist for many years.

A PEOPLE'S ART

By J. Russell Harper, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1974. 169 pages, illus. $22.50.

Reviewed by Newton Reid

I first wish to express appreciation to Russell Harper for his valuable work in locating and preserving the early paintings shown in 'A People's Art'. Many of us fail to see in old pictures, done usually by self-taught painters, either beauty or historical interest and so cast them away. Their neglect or destruction robs society of a pictorial record of the past. This is especially true of that period previous to the invention of the camera.

Early primitive painters were motivated, first, by a need to satisfy an inner longing to create and achieve self-fulfillment and, second, by a wish to please others. Naive as some of these pictures may appear, they were enjoyed and appreciated in the past. Their creators were generally more truthful in their depiction of subjects than trained artists who often rearrange, add or subtract from the scene before them to gain artistic effect or emphasis. The primitive artist felt that he was failing if he did not portray his subject just as he saw it. His pictures were a therapy to the spirit and a delight to the eye: to us – in addition to the pleasure they may give – they are a pictorial record of the past and worthy of preservation.

The quality which enriches these early works the most, I believe, is their originality. The artists have chosen their subjects personally. They have not copied from the work of others.

I believe that the era of naive or primitive painting is drawing to a close. In the past neither time, finances nor teachers were available to many would-be artists. Today, the person who is artistically inclined need not snatch time from work to paint: he rescues it from pleasure. He need not take money from the necessities of life; rather he withholds it from luxuries for his self-development. The born artist, of course, will not be deterred from his vocation, but what of the fate of those not highly gifted or motivated?

As we are enriched by the past, future generations will in turn benefit by the artistic experiments of today. Experimental striving often produces quantities of unappealing pictures. But among these failures or near-failures will be part of the perfection that their creators were reaching for. It is hoped that a good sampling of them will be preserved for the benefit and instruction of future generations.

Newton Reid is a Saskatchewan grain farmer who devotes part of his time to painting and ceramics.

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CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY: MOTIVE POWER/ROLLING STOCK/CAPSULE HISTORY

By Patrick C. Dorin. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, Washington, 1974. Hancock House Publishers, Saanichton, British Columbia. 155 pages, illus. $13.95.

Reviewed by James B. Armstrong

Patrick C. Dorin's *Canadian Pacific Railway: Motive Power/Rolling Stock/Capsule History* does not presume to compete with, or even wish to be compared to, the books by Pierre Berton on the CPR. Not an historical study, it is, instead, the expression of a personal interest in and feeling of gratitude for an exciting and impressive railroad empire. It is a book for the confirmed railroad enthusiast, the person who delights in reading about the characteristics of various locomotive classes, in learning of the consists of early passenger trains (the type and number of cars assigned to a scheduled run), and in inspecting numerous photographs of trains in action and of engines and cars at rest. It is, as the author states in his introduction, neither a political-economic study nor a technical analysis. Rather, he claims, it is an overall view of the many services that comprise the Canadian Pacific System. ('Railway' in the book's title is somewhat misleading in that Dorin considers, albeit briefly, Canadian Pacific's shipping routes and trucking lines.) He sets himself a difficult task: to define and describe the character or personality of the railroad and its assorted adjuncts.

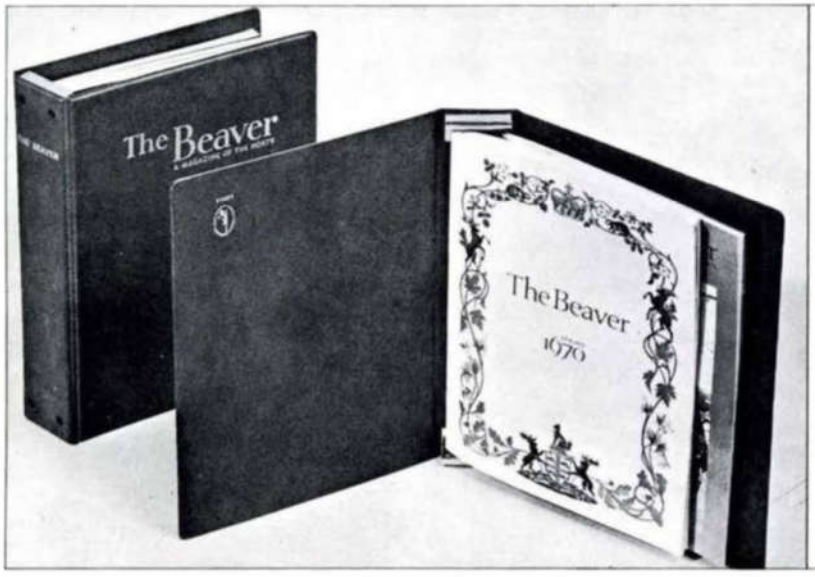
The result is a book of approximately 150 pages, many of which are filled with photographs. There are, in fact, over 200 of them, ranging from a handful of turn-of-the-century, carefully posed views to contemporary shots of seemingly endless, single-commodity, 'unit' trains. Photographers Stan F. Styles, Harold K. Vollrath, and Elmer Treloar, in particular, deserve recognition for their numerous views of rolling stock, locomotives, and passenger trains, respectively. The photographs and text are divided into seven chapters, among them, 'A Capsule History', 'The Passenger Services', 'Freight and Mixed Train Services', and a study of lesser-known CPR subsidiaries. Of these, the second is accorded the greatest coverage. The book concludes with appendices of representative locomotive and rolling stock rosters.

Author Dorin brings to this work a degree of experience and expertise. Having written four other railroad books during the past six years (*Commuter Railroads, The Lake Superior Iron Ore Railroads, Chicago & North Western Power,* and *The Domeliners*), all products of Superior Publishing Company, he is clearly a knowledgeable observer as well as one who is fascinated by both the business and romance of railroading. Unfortunately, his latest effort is an incomplete and uncomfortable job, one that is beset with flaws.

Conspicuous by its absence, is a map of the CPR, a mandatory item in a book that deals with a system of such breadth and depth and one that is concerned with the routes of so many individual trains. Nor is there an index, although it could be argued that the book's comparatively short length and careful delineation of topic allows the author to dispense with one. Of greater irritation are the problems of the text, which vary from poorly constructed to actually confusing sentences, and from unsatisfactory explanations to such public-relations-sounding statements as the one that concludes the first chapter: 'Yes indeed, the Canadian Pacific System is one of the most dynamic companies in the World.' Lastly, grammatical and typographical errors can be found throughout the book, and while not of utmost importance, impart to the publication a feeling of indifference. It is, in short, a work that is awkward and undisciplined in both content and expression.

In another ten years, the CPR will be celebrating its centennial. It is Dorin's hope that his book will help stimulate interest in the anniversary and that it will encourage Americans and Canadians alike to consider the important influence of the railroad on their lives and livelihoods. The rail buffs who read the book will undoubtedly take Dorin's suggestion to heart. But the work's limited focus and lack of polish will prevent this valid and commendable appeal from reaching the audience it deserves.

A student of railroad history, James Armstrong has travelled extensively by rail in Canada and the United States.



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GOGGLES, HELMETS & AIR MAIL STAMPS

By Georgette Vachon. Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, Toronto, 1974. 144 pages, Illus. $8.50.

Reviewed by Frank H. Ellis

Madam Vachon's original manuscript of *Goggles, Helmets & Air Mail Stamps* was written in French and translated by Mary Downey.

The work contains a brief outline of portions of world air history, together with more detailed text relating to some of the outstanding events which have taken place in Canada. Although it is short, it does offer some enlightening reading; interesting illustrations on almost every page greatly enhance its value.

Madam Vachon is the widow of Pilot Romeo Vachon who was well known in Canada for his flying accomplishments. Her connection with Canadian aviation throughout her married life provided her with the background and incentive to prepare the manuscript.

For adult readers who have a knowledge of aviation history, the contents of the book may prove to be a repetition of other works, but to younger readers, it may well become a precious possession.

The book contains interesting facts which the author includes from her own knowledge of flying in Eastern Canada; when it deals with the famous exploits of Romeo Vachon, it is almost biographical.

As with many published histories, the facts have occasionally been gleaned from other writers and mistakes occur. On page 58, the author writes: 'only four Canadians have had the honour of membership in this association [The Early Birds].' Actually there were seven, although there is only one survivor today.

It is only fair to recognize that this small book was never intended to be the complete aviation story; it must fall into the category of a brief synopsis of events, with greater emphasis placed on the Canadian scene.

My feelings for the volume are expressed in the final sentence of the preface written by the late Phil Garratt: 'I wish this book well, and hope that many young Canadians will absorb from it some of the excitement of those early days when the airplane was in its infancy.'

Frank H. Ellis is author of 'Canada's Flying Heritage' and numerous articles on the history of aviation.

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THE NONSUCH

By Laird Rankin. Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., Toronto. 1974, 132 pp. illus. $8.50.

Reviewed by Norman Hacking

When officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were searching for a suitable historical project to mark the tercentenary of the Company in 1970, someone had the bright thought of creating a replica of the seventeenth-century ketch *Nonsuch* which sailed from Gravesend to Hudson Bay in 1668, and which led to the establishment of the Company two years later.

Officers of the Company were hardly aware of the complexities of the project which they started, the unforeseen problems and expenses, the countless problems of imposing a seventeenth-century ship upon a twentieth-century environment.

The story of the *Nonsuch,* its adventures and misadventures, has now been told in book form by Laird Rankin, who for five years was responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the vessel in North America.

On page 101 of this beautifully illustrated little volume there is a photograph of the ketch close hauled on the starboard tack in Howe Sound. It was taken by Vancouver photographer Bill Cunningham, and must be one of the best of the countless thousands of pictures the *Nonsuch* evoked. This reviewer was aboard the vessel on that blustery summer day in 1973, and it is a day he will always recall with pleasure.

For Captain Adrian Small, the colourful Elizabethan-style master of the *Nonsuch,* it was perhaps the most pleasant and rewarding day of his six-year association with the vessel, a day in which she performed to his complete satisfaction in a scenic setting that could be rivalled only by his native Devonshire.

He had watched the *Nonsuch* under construction at the yard of J. Hinks & Son of Appledore, Devon; he had superintended her outfitting, picked her crew, and been responsible for her rather perilous cruise through the St Lawrence Seaway to the Great Lakes, and her subsequent hair-raising voyage overland to Puget Sound, where she took to the water.

As there was bound to be, there were problems surrounding the career of the *Nonsuch*, problems of navigating the canal locks, occasional groundings, problems of personality in the crew, troubles caused by official red tape.

She now lies in a dry-land cradle, on permanent display at the Manitoba Centennial Museum in Winnipeg. It grieved Captain Small to see her leave her native element, but once the decision was irrevocable, he co-operated whole-heartedly in assuring that she be enshrined in a fitting setting.

As well as being a first-rate navigator, Captain Small is also a fine artist, and the *Nonsuch* book includes some splendid examples of his craftsmanship. Even the daily pages of his logbook are works of art.

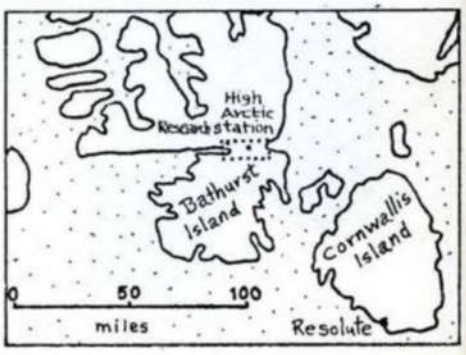
It is fitting that the brief but colourful career of the modern *Nonsuch* should be told in this pleasantly written and well illustrated volume.

Norman Hacking is Shipping Editor with the Vancouver Province.

ERRATUM

On page 32 of the Winter issue 1974, Bathurst Inlet should read Bathurst Island which is nearly 700 miles to the north. (See map p.3)

Since the winter of 1970-71 the National Museum of Natural Sciences' High Arctic Research Station has expanded. With the help of the Polar Continental Shelf Project, a wooden laboratory building was constructed and a third Parcoll hut was erected. Long-term projects on the behaviour of arctic birds and mammals will continue until at least 1978. These include studies on jaegers, Rock Ptarmigan, Ivory Gull, Snowy Owl, several species of shorebirds, Varying Lemming, and muskoxen.



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